RINAKER

Thomas Warton,

A Biographical & Critical Study

English

Ph. D.

1913

UNIV. OF
ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY
1913
R47

The person charging this material is responsible for its return to the library from which it was withdrawn on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

BUILDING USE ONLY

MAY 16 1974

MAY 16 1974

BUILDING USE ONLY

NOV 1 1976

NOV 1 1976

L161—O-1096

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

http://archive.org/details/thomaswartonbiog00rina_0

THOMAS WARTON
A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL STUDY

BY

CLARISSA RINAKER

A. B. Blackburn University, 1903
A. M. University of Illinois, 1911

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1913

1913
R47

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 16 1913

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Clarissa Rinaker

ENTITLED Thomas Warton, A Biographical and Critical Study

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Doctor of Philosophy

Stuart P. Sherman
In Charge of Major Work

Raymond M. Alden
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

B. H. Bode
H. G. Paul
R. M. Alden
H. S. V. Jones
Babcock.

Committee on Final Examination

246512

UIUC

CONTENTS

I

The Life of Thomas Warton 1

II

The Poetry of an Antiquary. 103

III

The Critical Restoration of Spenser. 139

IV

The History of English Poetry---The Flowering of Romance. 181

V

The History of English Poetry---Chaucerian Decadence and the Revival of Learning. 224

VI

The History of English Poetry---Definition of the Great Poetic Age. 258

VII

Critical Reception of the History of English Poetry. 293

VIII

Summary. 317

IX

Appendix A. Chronological Outline of Warton's Life and Writings.
Appendix B. Twenty-six Unpublished Letters of Thomas Warton.
Appendix C. Bibliography of the Sources of Warton's History of English Poetry. 346

X

Bibliography. 402

THE LIFE OF THOMAS WARTON

Biography.

Family tradition derived the Warton family from a very ancient and honourable one, the Wartons of Warton Hall, Lancashire through a collateral branch which had migrated to Beverly Parks, Yorkshire, when the then head of the family, Michael Warton, was said to have been knighted by Charles I, during the Civil Wars.[1] With the defeat of the royalist cause the family estate was so impoverished by heavy fines that they were unable to maintain the rank of gentry, and Laurence Warton, third brother of Sir Michael, removed to Redness in the vicinity of Sheffield. His second son, Francis, who probably went into the church and migrated to the south of England, is pretty certainly the same Francis Warton of Breamore, Hants., who was the great grandfather of Thomas Warton,[2]

1. John Warton, the nephew of the poet Laureate, seems to be the authority for this belief adopted by both Mant and Wooll, the biographers of the two brothers. But there is no account of his knighthood in the Warton MSS. in the Bodleian Library, nor is he mentioned in Shaw's 'Knights of England'. Richard Mant: Poetical Works of Thomas Warton ... with Memoirs etc. 2 vols. London, 1802. See I. ix. John Wooll: Biographical Memoirs of the late Joseph Warton. London, 1806. See page 2.

2. Michael Warton of Beverley Park

Sir Michael Warton of Beverley kn. d. 1655 — Edward — Laurence of Redness

Michael Warton of Beverley — Laurence of Wellingley d.1691 — Francis

Bodleian MSS. Wharton. 14 f 12 b.

Francis Warton of Breamore, Hants.
Anthony Warton of Godalming, Surrey, 1650-1715.
Thomas Warton of Basingstoke, Hants. (1680-1745)
= Elizabeth, 2d dau. of Jno. Richardson, of Dunsfield, Surrey.

Joseph 1722-1800 — Jane — Thomas 1728-1790

the historian of English poetry. Certain it is that Thomas Warton's seal bore the Warton arms,[1] 'Or, on a chevron azure, a martlet between two pheons of the first'.[2] Nothing further is known of Francis Warton except that he destined his son Anthony for the church, and sent him, in 1666 when he was a lad of sixteen, to Magdalen College, where he was entered as a 'pleb'.[3] Later he became a 'clerk', took the usual degrees, received a number of church preferments, and settled in the living of Godalming in Surrey. Of his three sons, the two oldest were deaf and dumb, and one of these, a painter of some promise, died young.[4] The third, Thomas, we may presume, had some slight defect of sight, sufficient to give point and sting to Amhurst's sobriquet of 'Squinting Tom of Maudlin',[5] but not serious enough to hinder his progress either at Oxford or in the church. It is no doubt to this unfortunate inheritance that his son's, Thomas Warton's, slight impediment of speech was due. Just what the difficulty was, we do not know; it cannot have been very serious.[6]

1. Wooll, p. xl, on the authority of James Dallaway, who matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford in 1782, who saw the seal. Dallaway was subsequently secretary to the earl Marshall, which brought him into close connection with the College of Arms.
2. MSS. Wharton. 14 fol. 11 from Joseph Foster, Visitation of Yorkshire. 1875 p. 386.
3. Joseph Foster: Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714. vol. IV. p. 1577.
4. Mant, p. i.
5. (Amhurst): 'Terrae-Filius,' for February 18, 1721. no. x. London, 1726. p. 48.
6. Johnson likened Warton's manner of speech to the gobble of a Turkey-cock, and the editor of the Probationary Odes declared that when Warton was about to be ejected from the royal presence by a sturdy beef-eater, he was recognized in time to avert the catastrophe by a 'certain hasty spasmodic mumbling, as well as two or three prompt quotations from Virgil'. (Mant, cvi) Even Daniel Prince, the Oxford bookseller, who had no motive for ridicule, testified that his organs of speech were so defective that he was not readily understood except by those who were familiar with his manner of speaking. (John Nichols: Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century etc. 7 vols. 1813. 2 additional vols. 1814. Letter of Daniel Prince, June 7, 1790. III. 704.)

Thomas Warton the elder seems to have been a man of some independence of thought, though of very moderate ability. At Oxford he was conspicuous and popular for his Jacobite sympathies, being the author of a satirical poem on George I, called "The Hanover Turnip", and verses on the Chevalier's picture.[1] The extant poetry written by this Thomas Warton does not show that he had any great claim to the poetry professorship on account of the excellence of his verse, and it was probably his political faith rather than his literary ability that led to his election to that office in 1718, and his re-election five years later, in spite of considerable opposition. His incompetence as a professor and a sermon which he preached against the government were the subjects of sarcastic and vigorous exposure and attack in Amhurst's 'Terrae Filius',[2] but his reputation seems not to have suffered therefrom.

Though a friend of Pope, the elder Warton was not of his poetical faith. He was an admiring reader and imitator of Spenser and Milton,[3] and wrote the first runic poetry, two poetical versions of Latin translations, quoted by Sir William Temple, from the song of Regner Lodbrog, a Northern king. These odes are much more poetical than the feeble Spenserian imitation, 'Philander', occasioned by the death of Mr. William Levinz, in

1. Amhurst's Terrae Filius. London, 1726. p. 49.
2. Nos. X, XV, and XVI. Feb. 18, Mar. 8, and Mar. 11, 1721.
3. Thomas Warton the younger relates an interesting anecdote to show that his father was the means of calling Pope's attention to Milton's Minor Poem, with which he was wholly unfamiliar, and that he thus led to that sprinkling of phrases from Milton in the 'Eloisa to Abelard'. Preface to Warton's Edition of Milton's Poems upon Several Occasions. London, 1789. Preface p. x.

1706, which is significant only for its early date, though both attempts are extremely important as showing one of the sources of the romantic tastes of his more gifted sons. The poems of Thomas Warton composed a small volume published by his sons[1] in 1748 in order to pay the small debts left by their father, of whom both seem to have been extremely proud.

The runic odes, which thus appeared a dozen years before Gray's Northern poetry, must have furnished him with some suggestions for expressing poetically the interest in northern mythology so keenly aroused by Mallet's 'Introduction a l'Histoire de la Dannemarc'.[2]

It is impossible to say when Warton's poems were written, perhaps after he had retired from the professorship — he had some years previously gone to reside regularly at his vicarage at Basingstoke — and had withdrawn still more from Oxford society, the parerga of a life busy with the successive vicarages of Framfield, Woking and Cobham, which he held in addition to his living at Basingstoke, and with the Basingstoke grammar school, of which he was master. At any rate his sons did not know of the existence of his poetry until they found his poems among his papers after his death, and after both sons had given evidence that they had already come into their real poetical patrimony.

It was at the vicarage at Basingstoke, the ninth of January, 1728, the year that his father's occupancy of the poetry

1. Joseph Warton's name alone appears on the title-page, but Thomas, who was yet an undergraduate at Trinity, was consulted. See Wooll's Life. pp. 214-15

2. Published in 1755. This book was greatly stimulating to Gray, whose Norse poetry was written in 1761.

professorship terminated, that Thomas Warton the younger, the poet and Oxford one, the critic, the historian of English poetry, was born, in a home comfortable, but neither luxurious nor fashionable, but where there were refinement and intellectual gifts above the average. His brother Joseph, the master of Winchester college, to whom he was singulary attached throughout his life, and his sister Jane, were both some years older than Thomas. As a child, Thomas Warton showed many signs of precocity, — a fondness for study, a passion for reading, and an early bent to poetry. He was no doubt greatly encouraged in these pursuits by his father, certainly a man of ready sympathy, who, without in any way losing the respect of his sons, made himself their close friend and confidant.[1] He had naturally assumed the task of their education, and Thomas, at least, had no other master until he went up to Oxford, a mature lad of sixteen. His education was, of course, largely classical, and the elder Warton was able to communicate to his sons not only a substantial Latin style, but a genuine enthusiasm for classical studies, which neither of them ever lost. It is probable that Thomas was more fortunate than otherwise in remaining so long under his father's instruction; Joseph, writing to his father from Winchester school, expressed the fear that the Latin style of composition which was there permitted to be used would not meet with his father's approval.[2]

No doubt a very valuable part of Thomas Warton's early

1. Wooll p. 10.
2. Swift: Essay on Modern Education. Swift's Wks. Scott ed. 1907. XI. 55.
2. Same p. 9.

education consisted in browsing in his father's library, which must have been a well-stocked one for those days, and probably contained more curious old books than were usually included in the library of country clergymen. Spenser must have been read early and often to have gained so firm a hold upon Warton's affections, and probably other early poets, Phineas Fletcher and William Browne, perhaps even a few romances. Certainly Milton was a favourite; perhaps the contemporary edition of the 'Poems on Several Occasions',[1] or Fenton's edition,[2] both full of manuscript notes[3] in Warton's crabbed hand, were part of the father's library which passed into his sons' hands. The latter, at least, is known to have belonged to Warton very soon after he had gone to Oxford.[4] As an evidence of the strength of the boy's passion for reading it was related of him that he used to withdraw with his books from the family group at the fire-side, even in the excessively cold winter of 1739 and 1740,— he was then but eleven years old,— in order to devote himself more uninterruptedly to his reading.[5]

Warton's first poetical attempt was of the nature of a voluntary school excerise, a translation from Martial, 'On Leander's Swimming over the Hellespont to Hero', which he sent

1. 1673. In 'A Catalogue of books, (being the libraries of ... Thomas Warton ... and others) to be sold by Thos. Payne.' London, 1801. 4° This volume is listed with the note, MS notes by T. W.
2. 1729. Same as above.
3. These notes were first incorporated in the 'Observations on the Fairie Queene', and later amplified into an edition of the minor poems.
4. Mant.

5. Mant xi.

in a letter to his sister. Fortunately this evidence of the precocity of a boy of nine was preserved, though perhaps it is no great misfortune that other early attempts have been lost. The lines are not a bad attempt for a child, in the prevailing stilted diction of the day,—

> 'When bold Leander sought his distant Fair,
> (Nor could the sea a braver burthen bear)
> Thus to the swelling waves he spoke his woe,
> Drown me on my return, but spare me as I go.'[1]

The letter in which it was sent bears evidence, too, of the love for music which was characteristic of Warton throughout his life, 'It will be my utmost ambition', wrote the boy, 'to make some verses that you can set to your harpsichord'.[1]

Warton's boyhood days seem not to have been entirely filled, however, with study. There is every reason to believe that his romantic interest in the past, his fondness for the scenes of stirring events and the varied life of earlier days was kindled at a very early age by familiarity with historic places, not only in the immediate vicinity of Basingstoke, — the ruined chapel of the Holy Ghost in the village itself, the scanty ruins of Basing House a few miles away, quite near the scene of a battle between the Saxons and Danes, Odiham Castle where king David of Scotland was imprisoned after the battle of Neville's Cross, — but even by excursions with his father and brother to more distant places of interest. It seems quite likely that Salisbury Plain and Stonehenge, whose mystery interested Warton so deeply, were visited, and it is certain that the

1. Same p. xii. Letter to Jane Warton November 7, 1737.

brothers were taken by their father to see Windsor Castle. Of this visit it was related that while the father and older son were examining every detail with eager and voluble attention, the younger son observed what he saw with so quiet a regard that his father misconstrued his silence as lack of interest, and remarked to Joseph, 'Thomas goes on, and takes no notice of what he has seen'. Joseph, however, came later to realize how deeply struck with everything he saw the younger boy had been, and what a lasting impression and profound influence the visit had, and remarked, 'I believe my brother was more struck with what he saw, and took more notice of every object, than either of us'.[1] ~~The~~ The effect of this visit, and similar experiences in his early youth, probably made a profounder impression than even Joseph realized; to them, I have no doubt, was due in large part Thomas's love of Gothic architecture and old ruins. In a reflection upon Milton he probably described his own youthful experience. 'Impressions made in earliest youth are ever afterwards most sensibly felt. Milton was probably first affected with, and often indulged the pensive pleasures which the awful solemnity of a Gothic church conveys to the mind, while he was a school-boy at St. Paul's.'[2]

In March, 1744,[3] when Thomas had reached the age of sixteen, he was sent to Oxford, the city of 'dreaming spires and droning dons', where he spent the remainder, and by far the greater part of his life. At the same time Joseph had just taken

1. Mant xxix.
2. Observations on the Fairy Queen. Ed. 1807. II. 140.
3. Joseph Foster: Alumni Oxonienses. 1715-1886. 4 vols. Oxford, 1891. IV. 1505.

his first degree and entered holy orders, becoming his father's curate. It is evident from the father's letters to Joseph at this time that the expense of maintaining his sons at the university was a considerable drain upon the slender resources of the county vicar, who was, however, eager that his sons should have every opportunity in his power to give, to develop their talents and put them in the way of securing honourable preferment in the church. It must have been then a great relief that Thomas was elected one of the twelve scholars of Trinity College in the following year, especially as his father died soon after, leaving a few debts and no resources except the poems previously mentioned. But Joseph hit upon the plan of publishing the latter by subscription, depending upon the large circle of his father's acquaintance to ensure their sale, and wrote to his brother, 'Do not doubt of being able to get some money this winter; if ever I have a groat, you shall have two pence'.[1]

At Oxford Thomas Warton found a place at once congenial to his aesthetic and poetical tastes, and an atmosphere conducive to the classical and antiquarian studies of which he was already fond. With habits of study already formed, and with an eager thirst for knowledge, he was at most only momentarily or rarely distracted from his studies by the prevailing tendency to idleness and dissipation which prevailed at Oxford throughout the eighteenth century. Warton had himself exactly that sort of 'quick sensibility and ingenuous disposition', that vivid sense of the reality of the past, which, he said, was able to evoke and

1. Dr. Warton to his brother. October 29, 1746. Wooll. p. 215.

create 'The inspiring deity, the Genius of the place', at the reflection that he was 'placed under those venerable walls, where a Hooker and a Hammond, a Bacon and a Newton, once pursued the same course of science, and from whence they soared to the most elevated heights of literary fame',[1] and which was deeply moved and greatly stimulated by the reflection. He was able to feel that excitement which Tully, according to his own testimony, experienced at Athens, when he contemplated the porticos where Socrates sat, and the laurel-groves where Plato disputed'.[1] Warton found in this emotional stimulus a substitute for the intellectual vigour that was unquestionably lacking at Oxford during the eighteenth century. Nothing more reveals the man than the nature of his reaction to the life of the University.

Testimony as to the intellectual stagnation at Oxford practically throughout the whole eighteenth century is almost unanimous. The torpor and corruption into which the Church of England had sunk early in the century was shared by the University. The old spell of tradition and reverence for church authority was losing its potency, but without as yet being supplanted by any very vigorous and general spirit of reform. With the theological apathy that had fallen upon the universities was joined the curse of formalism and obsolete methods in education. the life of the university was expended too largely in political factions, in Jacobite sympathies, or in petty disputes over fellowships and preferments. The professors seem to have ceased to

1. Idler, no.33, contributed by Thomas Warton. Johnson's Works. Lynam ed. 1825. II. 484.

demand regular attendance at lectures which they seldom delivered, and the interests of the fellows were distracted between their fellowships and their benefices. 'The majority of the undergraduates had no occupations but drinking, horse-racing, and ogling the ambitious young women, daughters of tradesmen or college servants, who wished to be considered "Oxford Toasts".'[1] As a result, Oxford had lost her claim to be either a centre of the intellectual life of the nation, or an efficient seat of learning.

Lord Chesterfield, the prudential man of the world, from whom, we may be sure, the presiding genius of Oxford concealed herself, resolved, when he took his son from school to send him directly abroad, 'as he had been at Oxford himself'.[2] West wrote to Gray from Christ Church as from a 'strange country, inhabited by things that call themselves doctors and masters of arts; a country flowing with syllogisms and ale, where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown'.[3] Even more emphatically Gibbon lamented the fourteen months he had spent at Magdalen College (he entered April 3, 1752) as the most idle and unprofitable of his whole life,[4] and testified that he was 'never summoned to attend even the ceremony of a lecture; and, excepting one voluntary visit to his rooms, during the eight months of his titular office, the tutor and pupil lived in the same college as strangers to each other'.[5] The company of the fellows he found no more stimulating.

1. H. E. D. Blakiston: Trinity College, College Histories, Oxford. London, 1898. p. 184.
2. Letter to Dr. Madden, April 15, 1749. Letters, Ed. Bradshaw London, 1893. 3 vols. II. 924.
3. Letter to Gray, November 14, 1735.
4. Memoirs of My Life and Writings, Miscellaneous Works. 5 vols., London, 1814.
5. Same p. 58.

'From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience;' and instead of the 'questions of literature' which he expected them to discuss, 'their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal; their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth'.[1] Adam Smith's unhappy experiences at Balliol in the forties led him to place an extremely low value on the universities, and even on education in general 'In the universities', he said, 'the youth are neither taught, nor always can find any proper means of being taught, the sciences which it is the business of those incorporated bodies to teach ... In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching'.[2]

Warton has drawn two spirited pictures of the usual college fellow, for which only too many of his colleagues might have sat. The first, the 'Progress of Discontent' recounts his history from the time

> 'When now mature in classic knowledge
> The joyful youth is sent to college

and his father

> At Oxford bred — in Anna's reign

bespeaks a scholarship —

> 'Sir, I'm a Glo'stershire divine,
> And this my oldest son of nine;
> My wife's ambition and my own
> Was that this child should wear a gown.
> . . . . . .

1. Same p. 58.
2. Wealth of Nations. Everyman edition. II. 250 and 247.

Our pupil's hopes, tho' twice defeated,
Are with a scolarship completed:
A scholarship but half maintains,
And college-rules are heavy chains:
In garret dark he smokes and puns,
A prey to dicipline and duns;
And now, intent on new designs,
Sighs for a fellowship — and fines.'

That prize attained at length, he sighs for a benefice, and marries, only at last, to long for the joys of his Oxford days again

'When calm around the common room
I puff'd my daily pipe's perfume!
Rode for a stomach, and inspected,
At annual bottlings, corks selected:
And din'd untax'd, untroubl'd under
The portrait of our pious Founder!'

The other, the very amusing 'Journal of a Senior Fellow, or Genuine Idler', contributed to Johnson's 'Idler',[1] was undoubtedly drawn from the life, and portrays but too well the trivial employments of a majority of college fellows, and their absolute waste of academic leisure.

'Monday, Nine o'clock. Turned off my bed-maker for waking me at eight. Weather rainy. Consulted my weather-glass. No hopes of a ride before dinner.

Ditto, Ten. After breakfast, transcribed half a sermon from Dr. Hickman. N.B. Never to transcribe any more from Calamy; Mrs. Pilcocks, at my curacy, having one volume of that authour lying in her parlour-window.

Ditto, Eleven. Went down into my cellar. Mem. My Mountain will be fit to drink in a month's time. N.B. To remove the five-year-old port into the new bin on the left hand.

1. Dec. 2, 1758. No.33.

Ditto, Twelve. Mended a pen. Looked at my weather-glass again. Quicksilver very low. Shaved. Barber's hand shakes.
Ditto. One. Dined alone in my room on a sole. N.B. The shrimp-sauce not so good as Mr. H. of Peterhouse and I used to eat in London last winter at the Mitre in Fleet-street. Sat down to pint of Madeira. Mr. H. Surprized me over it. We finished two bottles of port together, and were very cheerful. Mem. To dine with Mr. H. at Peterhouse next Wednesday. One of the dishes a leg of pork and pease, by my desire.
Ditto, Six. Newspaper in the common room.
Ditto, Seven. Returned to my room. Made a tiff of warm punch, and to bed before nine; did not fall asleep till ten, a young fellow — commoner being very noisy over my head.
Tuesday, Nine. Rose squeamish. A fine morning. Weather-glass very high.
Ditto, Ten.' etc.

It was but natural, when the proper interests of university life were so conspicuously neglected, that the spirits of the students should be expended in the less profitable and frequently disgraceful amusements afforded by the town. These are most clearly, and no doubt accurately described in Warton's 'Companion to the Guide, and Guide to the Companion', a satire on Oxford guide-books and antiquarian studies, as well as an humorous exposure of university abuse. Here he professed to describe a number of residence halls previously overlooked, 'in other words Inns, or Tipling Houses; or, as our collegs are at present, Places of Entertainment', the 'Libraries founded in our Coffee-

Houses, for the benefit of such of the Academics as have neglected, or lost their Latin and Greek', in which the Magazines, Reviews, Novels, Occasional Poems, and Political Pamphlets were supplied. And, 'as there are here Books suited to every taste, so there are Liquors adapted to every species of reading,' for Politics, coffee, for Divinity, port, and so on. Then there were a number of schools not commonly included in the guide-books: Among them 'three spacious and superb Edifices, situated to the southward of the High-Street, 100 feet long by 30 in breadth, vulgarly called Tennis Courts, where Exercise is regularly performed both morning and afternoon. Add to these, certain schools familiarly denominated Billiard Tables, where the Laws of Motion are exemplified, and which may be considered as a necessary Supplement to our Courses of Experimental Philosophy. Nor must we omit the many Nine-pins and Skittle-Alleys, open and organized for the instruction of Scholars in Geometrical Knowledge, and particularly, for proving the centripetal principle.' Among public edifices he solemnly noted the stocks, the town-pump, and 'Pennyless Bench... a place properly dedicated to the Muses. (where) History and Tradition, report, that many eminent Poets have been Benchers', enumerating among them Phillips and the Author of the 'Panegyric on Oxford Ale'.

While Oxford was perhaps no longer a power in the intellectual world, it was still one of the few places in England where there were any considerable libraries or facilities for study, and there was always then a little group of devoted scholars and serious men who used the abundant leisure afforded by the

laxity of college discipline for individual research and study. A few such names redeemed the dishonour of Oxford during the eighteenth century. There have always been at Oxford a few scholars who were genuinely devoted to the classics. There were others whose interests were centered in philology, and in literary and historical antiquities, but who, because of the general contempt for such subjects, and their own inability either to command respect for their work, or to divert their interest to more immediately useful channels, fell under a certain obloquy as 'mere antiquarians.' But however trifling, or sometimes even misleading, the results of their laborious researches, they kept alive, and transmitted to their successors in more favourable days, an ardent interest in scholarship. Hickes actually made the study of Anglo-Saxon somewhat the rage among this class of students at Oxford at the beginning of the century, and his influence was perpetuated by the founding of the Rawlinson professorship by a member of his college (St. John's) about the middle of the century, an endowment which became effectual at its close when Anglo-Saxon scholarship was coming into its own. Trinity College, too, had its antiquarian tradition, best represented by John Aubrey who contributed his manuscript 'Minutes of Lives' to Anthony à Woods' 'Antiquities of Oxford'; Thomas Coxeter, an industrious collector of old English plays, who was still living when Thomas Warton went up to Trinity, and from whom he must have gained what was more valuable than notes for his History of English Poetry, access to his collection of plays; and Francis Wise, the archeologist and underkeeper of the Bodleian, at whose home at Ellsfield Warton was a frequent and welcome guest, and who helped him with his 'Life of

Bathurst'. In this connection Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, poetry professor when Warton went to Oxford, one of the most distinguished Oxford men of the eighteenth century, cannot be overlooked. Warton gave him some assistance with his life of Wykeham, and perhaps received from him the suggestion for his work upon the lives of the founder and a distinguished president of his college, Sir Thomas Pope,[2] and Ralph Bathurst.

Thomas Warton, however, found at Oxford other charms besides a favourable place to study, with ample leisure, and in an atmosphere permeated with the spirit of centuries of learning. It was to him the source of keen aesthetic pleasure. With appreciative eyes he viewed the Thames and Cherwell with their 'willow-fringed banks', the charming 'water-walks' bordered with fine old trees whose protruding roots and mossy trunks afforded many a delightful place to read, while the gently-rolling meadows beyond invited to morning rambles when the fields were purpling under the rising sun, and the birds were beginning their songs.[3] These he may well have preferred to the more artificial beauties of his own college gardens, then in their prime of eighteenth century topiary formality, with its 'walls all round cover'd with Green Yew in Pannelwork' enclosing a 'wilderness extremely delightful with variety of mazes, in which 'tis easy for a man to lose himself.' It is pretty unlikely that Warton was often tempted to sit down and study on the benches placed 'here and

1. Letter from Lowth to Thos. Warton. Oct. 20, 1757. Wooll 249-52. Lowth's Life of Wykeham was published in 1758.
2. The Life of Pope was written in 1756, published in 1760.
3. J. Pinter's Oxford Guide, 1749, quoted by Blakiston, p. 201.

there in this Labyrinth'; he, at least, preferred the 'sedgy banks' of Cherwell to the 'neat Fountain with Artificial Flowers on the Surface of the Water'.[1] The real glory of the garden, then as now, must have been the beautiful avenue of lime trees to the north of the labyrinth, which had been planted thirty years before Warton came to Trinity, and whose arches and gnarled boughs probably even then resembled the wood-timbered roof of some Gothic hall.

The fine old Gothic buildings of the university delighted even more. No one perhaps has viewed them with more enthusiastic appreciation than Thomas Warton. In an age that despised the Gothic, his admiration for it grew steadily, and his taste was no doubt stimulated, if not kindled, by the fine old gateway and splendid tower of Magdalen College, at which he was especially fond of gazing. His 'Triumph of Isis' contains a tribute to the beauties of Oxford:

> 'Ye fretted pinnacles, ye fanes sublime,
> Ye towers that wear the mossy vest of time;
> Ye mossy piles of old munificence,
> At once the pride of learning and defence;
> Ye cloisters pale, that lengthening to the sight,
> To contemplation, step by step, invite
> Ye high-arch'd walls, where oft the whispers clear
> Of harps unseen have swept the poet's ear;
> Ye temples dim where quiet duty pays
> His holy hymns of ever-echoing praise;
> Lo! your lov'd Isis, from the bordering vale,
> With all a mother's fondness bids you hail!'

In this environment Thomas Warton spent forty-seven active though rather uneventful years. Immediately upon taking his first degree he entered holy orders, and became a tutor. Shortly after

1. J. Pointer's Oxford Guide, 1749, quoted by Blakiston, p.201.

he had proceeded Master of Arts he succeeded to a fellowship, and he remained a tutor and fellow of Trinity all his life. In this way Warton escaped the struggle for a livelihood which darkened the early years of some of his contemporaries. He knew nothing of the hard life of Grub Street, nor the bitter disappointments and discouragements against which his friend Dr. Johnson had contended. His academic and clerical preferments ensured him a comfortable, even a luxurious living, congenial surroundings, libraries and probably the most convenient facilities for literary work to be found anywhere in England, and a considerable amount of leisure to devote to his favourite pursuits. Warton seems never to have regarded himself as a professional man of letters. His first love, his first interest was Oxford; his first loyalty, his first duty was to her. And if he was somewhat remiss in his lectures, he had every encouragement to be so, and he more than once suffered his own work to languish while he devoted himself to his pupils.

It was very natural that Warton should be in a certain sense indolent. Without the spur of necessity to keep him steadily at one piece of work until it was finished, without great ambition for academic or church preferment, without the incentive of conspicuous examples of important scholarship, with abundant poetical taste, but without much creative poetical genius, with great abilities, and an enthusiastic interest in a wide range of subjects, it was easy for him to drift from one subject to another, to have his energies frequently diverted into new channels. With a romantic breadth of interest, an almost

omniverous love for knowledge he combined great energy and thoroughness in research. He passed with perfect ease and unabated enthusiasm from poetry to criticism, from antiquarian to classical research, from literary history to the editing of his favourite poet. His work has all the merits of a labour of love: enthusiasm, appreciative criticism, sympathetic interpretation and thoroughness in purpose, if not always in accomplishment. And it is distinguished in every field.

Warton's first literary activity was quite naturally poetical, and the bulk, though not the best, of his poetry was written while he was yet a young man. In his serious poetry he showed the effects of his reading. The 'Pleasures of Melancholy', his first poem,[1] written in 1745, but not published until two years later, is, however, not simply an imitation of Milton and Akenside. It sums up many phases of the romantic movement in poetry, __ melancholy, moonlight, simple description of rural nature, the influence of the elder poets, together with Warton's own peculiar gift to romantic poetry, the love of the Gothic, of mediaeval life, its monuments, and especially its architecture. Warton had an extraordinarily strong sense of the past, felt its influence in the present, and wished to realize and to perpetuate the power of its inspiration, and this is the distinguishing characteristic of his poetry, as it was the inspiration of much

1. A small collection of poems, 'Five Pastoral Eclogues', which was published anonymously in 1745 and subsequently in Pearch's Continuation of Dodsley's Miscellany, has been attributed to Warton, but probably erroneously. At least he never acknowledged them, and his sister assured Bishop Mant that he positively disclaimed them. (Mant, xiv.)

of his other work. The love of nature in its simpler rural aspects grew in his verse; it is perhaps strongest in his sonnets, the work of his maturity. As it is my purpose to discuss Warton's poetry more at length subsequently, I shall content myself here with mentioning only a few of the more noteworthy poems.

Warton first attracted to himself the attention of the academic world with a poem in celebration of Oxford, its illustrious sons, its glorious past and its Gothic beauties. This poem was occasioned by Mason's 'Isis, an elegy',[1] in which he had glanced at the Jacobite learnings of Oxford. There had, indeed, been some cause for the reproach in a foolish drunken outbreak, which had been carried into the court of the King's bench, and had reflected dishonour upon the heads of some of the colleges. Warton no doubt at this time shared to some extent his father's known Jacobite opinions, and, as there was a considerable Jacobite sympathy at Oxford at this time and later, his poem was received with a good deal of applause. It is interesting to know that the young poet received also a substantial reward from Dr. King, an ardent Jacobite, whom he had especially commended as an orator. Soon after the poem was published, Dr. King went into the shop of Mr. Prince, the bookseller, and, enquiring whether five guineas would be of use to the author, left that sum to be given him.[2]

In the year 1751 Warton rendered other poetical services to his university. It was then the custom for the universities to present collections of appropiate verses upon important public

1. Published in 1746
2. Mant, xv.

occasions. In the Oxford collection upon the death of Frederick Prince of Wales, Warton had two poems, an English elegy, purporting to be the work of John Whetham, Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, and a Latin poem signed with his own name. In July he was called upon to compose verses for the anniversary in commemoration of the Benefactors to the University, and wrote an 'Ode for Music', which was performed at the Sheldonian Theatre. Another interesting poem of the year was a satire in the manner of Pope, in which the popular vice of gambling upon the Newmarket races was vigorously attacked.

During this early period of his career, before he had turned from poetry to criticism as his literary work, Warton seems to have planned an important long poem, perhaps an epic, or a romantic poem in the manner of Spenser, a project which, however, was probably never carried much, if at all, farther than the proposal. It is hinted at rather darkly in the preface to the 'Union', an anonymous publication of which Warton was editor. This is a collection of minor poems, mostly by his contemporaries, Mason, Joseph Warton, Blackstone, Collins, Mallet, Smart and others, with a few ancient Scottish poems, — the Thistle and the Rose, a fragment of Lindsay's, and Hardyknute (then thought to be an old poem) — somewhat apologetically included. Two of his own poems were ascribed to a 'Gentleman of Aberdeen, whose modesty would not permit us to print his name; and from these ingenious essays, the public may be enabled to form some judgment beforehand of a poem of a nobler and more important nature, which he is now preparing'.

As it was Warton's life-long practice to announce in his

various publications work which he had then in hand or intended soon to publish, there is no reason for supposing that he did not at this time actually intend to write some kind of a serious and extended poem which probably never reached any very advanced stage of completion. The causes which led to its abandonment are those which explain his turn to criticism, antiquarianism, research and history, and his partial desertion of poetry.

No one denies, I think, that the eighteenth century was conspicuously an age of prose, of reason, of skepticism, of didacticism; its characteristic poetry was either prosaic or merely brilliant; and its attitude toward imagination, enthusiasm, romance, decidedly hostile. It was not the age to encourage such a poet as Thomas Warton with his enthusiastic love of the older, neglected poets, and his fondness for romance, nor to ~~be moved~~ be moved by descriptions of the glories of the past. The standards and ideals of the school of Pope were not yet overthrown,— Warton himself did not immediately escape from that influence in his own poetry,— and except for his brother Joseph there could have been but few who read his verse with sympathetic appreciation. And Warton's poetical genius was not sufficiently robust to weather the storms of unfavourable criticism. Later in his life his sensitiveness to ridicule of his poetry — he could endure with composure the most virulent abuse of his other work — cost him the friendship of Dr. Johnson;[1] at this period criticism simply repressed his poetic fervor. It is characteristic of his natural modesty, as well as of his appreciation of the general

1. Infra pages 97-8.

lack of sympathy with his Gothic muse, that, except in very early letters to his brother,[1] although he wrote quite freely of his plans, his progress with all his other work, and details of research of all sorts, there is no mention of his poetry, even in his letters to Price, to whom he wrote quite intimately.[2]

As far as we can judge from the poetry which Warton wrote, excellent as some of it is, his was not a great poetical genius. Poetical taste, feeling and enthusiasm he had in abundance, but there seems to have been a lack of the creative spark. How great a poet he might have become in more favourable circumstances, it would be futile to enquire; we can only concern ourselves with the reasons why he did not, and with watching the development of his genius in other fields.

Unlike Gray,[3] who, under similar circumstances, and with a greater poetic gift than Warton, was all but silenced by his uncongenial environment and his inability to express himself, Warton was able to turn the force of his genius into other channels; to expend his admiration for Spenser in such a sympathetic interpretation of that poet as not only revealed his real beauties in a clearer light, but justified his admiration on the basis of critical principles as sound as those of Aristotle; to

1. J. Warton to T. Warton. Oct. 29, 1746 & June 7, 1753. Wooll 214, 217.
2. In two late letters to Malone there is very brief mention of poetry. July 29, 1787. 'You flatter me much in your opinion of my last ode'. Brit. Mus. MSS Additional no. 30378, 16 letters of T. Warton to E. Malone, [illegible]an. 3, 1789. 'I appear in the Papers, not only as an Esquire, but as the author of a New Year's Ode which I never wrote.'
3. See Matthew Arnold's Essay on Thomas Gray. Second Series.

convert his enthusiasm for the past into a sympathetic history of its life as revealed in literature, to carry a poetic insight into the relation between the past and present even into mere antiquarian research, giving it a purposiveness not always felt; to prepare the critical judgment of his age for a more favourable and appreciative reception of such poetry as he, perhaps, might have written, and such as was yet to be written by his successors. In Gray both the poet and the scholar were repressed, his powers were apparently inhibited by forces beyond his control, an involuntary, but unconquerable inertia. Warton's greater energy, robuster health, and more vigorous hold upon reality could accomplish what Gray's sensitive reticence, continual ill-health and dreamy impracticality failed to. With less poetical force, and possibly less profound scholarship, Warton turned his gifts to better account, and made for himself a much larger place in the history of English criticism and scholarship. Gray had not the versatility and adaptability which enabled Warton to find another outlet for his genius, when that of poetry was so difficult. He was equally a scholar with Warton, but his scholarship was barren. Both as a poet and as a scholar his fervor was repressed, and his genius rendered inarticulate.

In the case of Warton there was no such tragedy of unexpressed genius. Discouraged as a poet, he immediately turned his poetical enthusiasm, his love for the Gothic, for romance, into his scholarship; the poet all but disappeared in the scholar. And with the works which were the results of Warton's scholarship before us, we cannot regret the loss of that we never knew, when it would mean the sacrifice of so much the incalculable value

of which we partly realize.

Warton did not immediately find himself in another field. He undertook a number of different kinds of work at this time, and either partly or wholly abandoned each. British antiquities claimed his attention, and produced the 'Description of ... Winchester'; mediaeval antiquity resulted in a project merely — that of collaborating with his brother in a history of the revival of learning,[1] but it bore fruit later; as a result of his interest in the classics he planned translations of Homer and Apollonius Rhodius; while even the Observations on the Fairy Queen were but part of his whole plan, of writing observations on the best of Spenser's work.

The hand of the poet is as evident as that of the scholar in the 'Observations on the Faerie Queene,[2] Warton's great critical work. The author's love for Spenser, and his poetical enthusiasm were here first turned to exposition, to criticism, but of a sort unknown before. And the secret of the new quality is to be found in the poetical enthusiasm of the man, which enabled him to study the poem from its own point of view, not carrying to it the trammels of artificial, pseudo-classical standards of which the poet had known nothing, but with a sympathetic interpretation of his literary models, the spirit of his age, his heritage of romance, of chivalry, of the whole many-coloured life of the middle ages. These things Warton was able to see and to reveal, not with the eighteenth century prejudice against, and ignorance of, the Gothic, but with the understanding and long familiarity of the real lover of Spenser,

1. Wooll, 29.
2. For full discussion of this work see Chapter III.

exerting himself to justify the enthusiasm he felt so effectively that he overturned the whole fallacy of pseudo-classical criticism, and substituted a broader, truer criticism that was capable of application to the new poetry that was about to be.

Nothing, I think, so shows Warton's power as the fact that he was able in this very romantic criticism of a very romantic poem, to compel the admiration of so rigid classicist as Dr. Johnson, and that by a partial recognition of its historical method, the merits of which he could appreciate, but would not emulate.[1] 'You have shown', Johnson wrote to Warton immediately upon its publication, 'to all who shall hereafter attempt the study of our ancient authors, the way to success; by directing them to the perusal of the books which those authors had read ... . The reason why the authors, which are yet read, of the sixteenth century, are so little understood, is, that they are read alone; and no help is borrowed from those who lived with them, or before them'.[2]

It is characteristic of Warton's romantic diffuseness of interest that this first work included much more than a criticism of the Fairy Queen, that it was to some extent the repository of his dominating interests at the time it was written. It includes many of the notes on Milton which he had been for some time accumulating, and which finally reappeared in his last work, the best critical edition of Milton's minor poems that has yet appeared.[3] There is considerable discussion of the early

1. In his edition of Shakespeare.
2. Letter to Thos. Warton. July 16, 1754. Boswell's Life of Johnson. Ed. Hill. 6 vols. Oxford, 1887. I. 270.
3. Masson quoted in D.N.B. Art. Warton.

history of English literature, of Chaucer and of Gothic romance, and of the Italian literature of the renaissance, which are the preludings of his later work, the History of English Poetry. In the second edition of the Observations, which appeared in 1762, there was added a long dissertation on the history of Gothic architecture, Warton's most extended published discussion of a subject, the study of which was his recreation throughout his life.

Warton had not intended to have done with Spenser when he published his criticism of the Fairy Queen, but purposed to follow it with a similar treatment of the shorter poems. His edition of Spenser's works, the wide margins of which he covered with notes of all sorts, — glosses, comparisons with other poems, references to romances, illustrative and interpretive comments, in many cases in the very language of the printed work, — show that he carried out this plan for many of the poems.[1] But tutorial duties hindered; he permitted his interest to be diverted to other matters, and the work went no further. Dr. Johnson's letters to him during the winter following the publication of the Observations show that he was urging him to the completion of work which he perceived was languishing. In November he wrote, 'I am glad of your hindrance in your Spenserian design[2] — yet I would not have it delayed. Three hours a day stolen from sleep

1. Spenser: The Faerie Queen; The Shepheard's Calendar etc. 1617, fol. Copious MS notes by Thomas Warton. It is in the British Museum.

2. "'Of publishing a volume of observations on the best of Spenser's works. It was hindered by my taking pupils in this College.' Warton." Boswell, Johnson I. 276 note 3.

will produce it.'[1] No one knew better than Johnson the temptations to procrastinate, so he wrote again with anxiety on the same subject, 'Where hangs the new volume? Can I help? Let not the past labour be lost, for want of a little more; but snatch what time you can from the Hall, and the pupils, and the coffee-house, and the parks, and complete your design.'[2]

Warton's attention was soon claimed, however, by other literary work, of a new antiquarian sort. In 1750 he had prepared a study of the antiquities of the city, cathedral and college of Winchester,[3] based upon an examination of manuscripts of Anthony à Wood, the manuscript records of the college and cathedral, and that accurate and interested observation of the present state of the buildings themselves, which was a lifelong hobby with him. As this was five years before Joseph Warton took up his work at his old school at Winchester, and so before Thomas Warton had begun to make his annual visits there during the long vacation, we may suppose that he had at this time begun those remarkable vacation rambles in the course of which he visited the principal specimens of Gothic architecture throughout the southern and midland counties of England.

Shortly after the Observations appeared, Warton entered with characteristic loyalty to his college into the preparation

1. Letter to Thos. Warton November 28, 1754. Boswell's Johnson I. 276.
2. Same. February 4, 1755. I. 279.
3. A description of the city, college and cathedral of Winchester ... the whole illustrated with ... particulars, collected from a manuscript of A. Wood etc. London, n.d. (1750).

of a life of its founder, Sir Thomas Pope, for the Biographia Britannica.[1] John Campbell, to whom the life was sent, wrote upon receipt of it, 'I see, Sir, that you have taken a great deal of pains in that life, of which, I will take all care imaginable. ... If you can think of any life that will be acceptable to yourself, or grateful to the University, I shall take care and hand it to the press with much satisfaction'.[2] This biography was enlarged and published separately in 1772, and another edition in 1780. A second antiquarian labour of love for the college was the life of Ralph Bathurst, prefixed to a selection from his works, published in 1761. Both of these biographies were compiled with minute care from manuscript materials,[3] and were enlivened, especially the first, with digressions from contemporary history.[4]

H. E. D. Blakiston has attempted to blacken Warton's character by showing that some of the manuscripts upon which the

1. Biographia Britannica, or the Lives of the Most eminent Persons who flourished in Great Britain and Ireland from the earliest Ages down to the present time etc. vol. I. 1747. Vol. 5, which contained the life of Pope, signed 'W', 1760 7th and last vol., 1766. John Campbell was the most copious contributor to the first four volumes.
2. Mr. Campbell to Mr. Warton, July 15, 1756. Wooll 241. Warton seems to have submitted a life of Weever the antiquary, which Campbell acknowledged in a letter of Dec. 18, 1759, but it does not appear in the Biographia. See Wooll 263 for letter.
3. He also sought help, but without avail, from Trinity students of Bathurst's time, and with more success, from the secretary of the Royal Society, for excerpts from its registers. Wooll.
4. This wealth of minute detail called forth from Walpole the pretty apt criticism that it resuscitated more nothings and nobodies than Birch's "Life of Tillotson" or Lowth's "William of Wykeham". Letter of Mason, May 9, 1772. Walpole Letters. Toynbee ed. VIII, 162.

life of Pope was based were forgeries.[1] Mr. Blakiston makes a pretty strong case with the important exception that he is unable to show that Warton was himself the author of the fraud and not the victim of a less scrupulous antiquary. So grave a charge should rest upon stronger evidence than he is able to adduce, and he himself commits an error which does Warton a serious injustice. In seeking a motive for the deception which he would assign to Warton, he suggests the success of the Rowley forgeries, which, he says, 'Warton was himself engaged about 1778, when he must have put the finishing touches to (the fabrications), in defending.'[2] So far from furnishing a suggestion for such a deception, we need, I think, seek for no further proof of Warton's absolute honesty than is shown by his attitude in this very matter. For, as a matter of fact, in 1778, the year of the publication of the second volume of the History of English Poetry, in which some of the so-called Rowley poems appeared, Warton was not defending but attacking their authenticity, and that in spite of his confessed wish that they might have proved genuine old poems.[3] If Warton had indeed been the unscrupulous antiquary which Mr. Blackiston thinks he was, he certainly would have taken the attitude on that question that Mr. Blakiston mistakenly thinks he did. When Warton gives such conspicuous evidence of open mindedness and candour in his treatment of material before him, it is incredible that he could be at the same time engaged in forging so gratuitous and

1. H. E. D. Blakiston: Thomas Warton and Machyn's Diary. English Historical Review. April, 1896. XI. 282-300.
2. Same, page 299.
3. See infra. 237.

useless a deception. On the other hand, nothing is more possible than that among those upon whom he was obliged to depend for assistance in research there was one unprincipled person who took advantage of his guileless friend to impose upon him one of the cleverest of antiquarian forgeries. Nor is it remarkable that Warton should not have detected frauds so plausible that they were revealed only by Mr. Blakiston's minute investigation, although the work had been more than once examined and accepted as authoritative.

In the meantime Warton had been honoured by his University with election to that office which his father had once held, the professorship of poetry. At this, classical literature and antiquities became his principal interest, and apparently he almost abandoned the study of English literature. Somewhat earlier, perhaps even before the publication of the Observations on the Fairie Queene, he was at work on a translation of Apollonius Rhodius,[1] but, although Dr. Johnson urged him to continue it,[2] as he had urged him to complete the observations on Spenser, — he seems to have had both of them under way at the same time,[3] — it met the same fate. It seems to have been regarded for some

1. Kant's informant thought a translation of Homer was also projected. xxxiv. 'Thomas Warton, January 21, 1752, agreed to translate the Argonautics of Appollonius Rhodius for 80 pounds.' Willis's Current Notes. Nov. 1854. p. 90.

2. Letter to Thos. Warton. May 13, 1755. ... 'How goes Appolonius? Don't let him be forgotten. Some things of this kind must be done to keep us up.' Boswell's Johnson. I. 289.

3. Robert Dodsley to Joseph Warton, September 20, 1754. ... 'What is your Brother doing? I hear he has laid aside all thoughts of Appolonius. I think he is right: but I would not have him lie still. I am just going to put my fourth volume of poems to press, and wish he would send me a corrected copy of his Pleasures of Melancholy and Triumphs of Isis.' Wooll p. 225.

time rather as a work deferred than abandoned, for in 1770 Dr. Barnard wrote him in behalf of a friend of his[1] to know whether or not he had definitely given up the project.

As poetry professor Warton devoted his lectures chiefly to recommending and expounding the beauties of classical poetry. One of these lectures, a Latin discourse on Greek pastoral poetry, was afterwards enlarged to serve as a prefatory discourse to his edition of Theocritus. And those Latin translations from Greek anthologies which were included in the last edition of his poems, (1791) were made and first used for illustrations of his subject in this course of lectures.[2] The substantial outgrowth of his studies as poetry professor was his work as an editor of classical poetry. The first was a small edition of 'Inscriptionum Romanarum Metricarum Delectus', a selection of inscriptions, chiefly sepulchral, from various other collections, and it also included a few modern epigrams, one by Dr. Jortin and five of his own on the classical model.[3] This edition, which, with characteristic indifference to fame, was published anonymously, was quite small, and had so slight a popularity that twenty years after its publication it was almost unknown, and had become so

1. Dr. Jeffrey Ekins. Evidently the reply was satisfactory, for the next year, 1771, his 'Loves of Medea and Jason; ... translated from the Greek of Appollonius Rhodius's Argonautics' was published at London. Dr. Barnard asked Warton for communications upon the subject for his friend, a request probably granted, for Warton was extremely generous with suggestions of all sorts. Dr. Barnard's letter is in Wooll, p. 361-2.
2. Mant xli.
3. Mant xlii. The Latin epigrams are included in Mant's selection of Warton's poems.

rare that the author himself wanted a copy of it.[1] A similar work was a collection of Greek inscriptions, an edition of Cephalas's Anthology.

The great work of Warton's professorship was, however, the edition of Theocritus on which he was engaged at the time the 'Inscriptionum' was published,[2] but which did not appear until

1. Daniel Prince, who printed the History of English Poetry, and other of Warton's work, wrote in 1781 (April 2, to Gough Lit. Anec. VIII 476) that he did not know Warton's 'Inscriptiones Antiquae Romanae Metricae', and two days later 'April 4, 1781) 'To-day I applied in person to Mr. Warton, for I had really forgotton the performance, and enquired of him after 'Inscriptiones metricae', which he tells me he published about 20 years ago; — that the copies were put in Mr. Dodsley's hands; — that he has wanted one himself some years, but cannot get it from Dodsley or elsewhere. Still Mr. Warton is confident they never sold; and that it is probable a number are yet with Mr. Dodsley ... ' Nichols's Literary Anecdotes. III. 427.
Contemporary opinion varied as to its merits. Shenstone wrote to Graves, Nov. 25, 1788. 'Mr. Thomas Warton ... has since sent me his 'Inscriptionum; which are rather too simple even for my taste.' Shenstone's Works. 5th ed. 1777. III. 284.
George Coleman was more enthusiastic. 'You know, I suppose, that the 'Inscriptiones Romanae etc are yours. They have, I find, been sent to all the literati, Dr. Markham, Bedingfield, Garrick etc. They are very well spoken of: Markham in particular commended them much, and Master Francklin is held mighty cheap for his very unclassical review of them. 'To T. Warton. June 15, 1758. Wooll 258-9.
James Harris was no doubt referring to the same work when he wrote — 'Be pleas'd to accept my sincerest wishes for your truly laudable endeavours towards the revival, the preservation, and the encrease of good taste; not that phantom bearing its name, imported by Petit Maitres from France, but that real and animating fervor that guided the geniuses at Athens.' Letter to T. W. January 13, 1759. Wooll 260-1.

2. 'You have heard (no doubt) that the Republic of Letters is in great expectation of a good edition of Theocritus from Mr. Warton, the Poetry Professor. His plan is, to give us a correct text with critical and explanatory notes.' John Cowper to R. Gough Nov. 26, 1758. Lit. Anec. VIII. 568.
In the preface to the Anthology the Theocritus was definitely promised. p. xxxvi. In 1760 Harris sent a book to be used in its preparation.

1770.[1] Theocritus had long been a favourite author with Warton,[2] which no doubt influenced the selection of that author, but the principal cause was probably the large collection of manuscripts which John St. Amand, a classical antiquary, had collected in Italy and elsewhere for an edition of Theocritus that he intended to publish, and which he bequeathed at his death to the Bodleian Library.[3] Warton also received assistance in the publication of Theocritus from Jonathan Toup, whom Warburton called the 'first Greek scholar in Europe'.[4] His principal contribution was an epistle on some of the Idyllia,[5] but he also sent a number of briefer notes.[6] Warton repaid Toup's kindness very handsomely, not only by contributions to the Longinus which Toup was even at that time engaged upon,[7] but by seeing it through the

1. The editior confidently expected it 2 years earlier. Letter from Thos. Warton to (Jonathan Toup) May 2, 1768. 'We are now printing the Notes of the xvth Idyllium; and as no sort of interuption will intervene the work will be ready for Publication by or before Christmas next.' Bodleian MSS. Clar. Pr. C 13 f. 109.
2. Mant vliv. Preface to Theocritus.
3. St. Amand died in 1754. See D.N.B. Article St. Amand, and Mant xliv.
4. D.N.B. Warton.
5. Printed at the end of Warton's notes. 'As, (I think) I told you before, your Epistle is to succeed my Body of Notes. T. W. to J. T. May 2, 1768. Badl. MSS. Clar. Pr. C 13, f. 109.
6. Inserted with Warton's.
T. W. to J. T. 'Dear Sir, I have received the Note, which is very curious and ingenious. If you please, as we are not yet got to the Dioscuri, I will insert it in its proper place, with due Acknowledgment as coming from you: as I have all along done with those detached Notes you have sent me, not belonging to the Epistle. I shall be extremely glad to hear from you as often as possible, and am, Dear Sir, With great Truth, yrs. very sincerely. T. Warton. Oxon. Mar. 30, 1768.' Bodleian MSS. Clar. Pr. C. 14, fol. 162.
7. T. W. (to J. T.) ... 'The Worke is in great Ex(pectation) of your Longinus and I should be glad if you would inform me, when we are likely to be favoured with so valuable an accession to Grecian Literature. May 2, 1768. Clar. Pr. C. 13. f. 109. 'Toup's admirable edition of Longinus in Greek and Latin, came out in 1778. A second edition appeared in the same year, and a third in 1806. D.N.B.

press.[1] The edition of Theocritus was very highly praised by Warton's friends upon its publication; Toup called it the 'best publication that ever came from the ClarendonPress';[2] but foreign scholars immediately discovered its defects in precision and it has now been entirely superseded.

Almost immediately upon the expiration of his term as professor of poetry, Warton began making attempts to secure the professorship of modern history. Bishop Warburton was particularly active in his behalf, but the office had been awarded to Mr. Vivian, upon his agreeing to comply with the King's demand that the office should no longer be held as a sinecure, before Warton's name was proposed.[4] A little more than a year later, Vivian was very ill, and the false rumour of his death revived the hopes of Warton's friends, and fresh efforts were made. The uncertainty as to whether or not Vivian would give up his pretentions to the office,[5] or refuse to read lectures in conformity with the Kings condition,[6] kept them in a continual excitement,

1. No slight service, if we judge from the following letter. T. W. (to J. Toup). 'Dear Sir, In placing Rhunbinius's Notes first, we have acted according to your own Directions in a Letter which I enclose. If you mean to alter your first Design specified in this Letter, and to place your own Notes after the Text, two or three Sheets (now worked off) must be cancelled. I have stopped the Press till I hear from you on this Particular. The Cancelling will be attended with some little Expense and Delay; but if you chose to have it done, I will present it to the Board. I am, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate humble servt. T. Warton. Trin. Coll. Feb. 4, 1777.
P.S. Please to return the Inclosed.'

2. Letter of Toup to Warton quoted by Mant. p. xliii. Clar. Pr. 13, 83.

3. D. N. B. Warton.

4. Letters Warburton to Grafton. Sept. 23, 1768. Wooll 337-8 and Grafton to Warton Sept. 22, 1768, Wooll, 337.

5. Dr. Balguy to Joseph Warton, Feb. 6, 1770. Wooll, 355.

6. Warburton to T. Warton, Feb. 15, 1770 ... 'It is as clear as the day that Vivian hangs on the professorship, in hopes that

in which Warton seems to have shared least of all. When finally the professorship was again settled upon Vivian, Warburton wrote in commendation of the manner in which he accepted the disappointment, at the same time assuring him that Vivian's health was sure to create a vacancy in the office soon.[1] Warton's delicacy was, however, greater than his friend the Bishop of Gloucester's, and he delayed until Vivian was actually dead before approaching Grafton and North for his office. This, in the opinion of Warburton at least, cost him the office,[2] which went to Thomas Nowell,[3] who retained it until his death in 1801. This is the last University honour which Warton seems to have sought. In 1785 he was, however, elected Camden Professor of History[4] in recognition of his merit,

these distracted times, and a shifting Ministry, will throw it into his hands, without the burthen. Your only hope is the steadiness of the K's purpose ... If Vivian will read lectures as required, without doubt he will have the professorship. If he will not read, and declines the condition, and the King insists on the performances, you will have it. If the report of Vivian's death had been true, I had secured it for you.' Wooll, 360-1.

1. Warburton to Warton. February 22, 1770. Wooll 363.

2. Same March 13, 1771. ... 'I take it for granted you was grown very indifferent to this professorship, or you would have seen me on Sunday (I was only gone to the Chapel) that I might have wrote immediately to the D. of Grafton, who had actually got the thing for you of the King, in the supposition of the death of Vivian. That report proved false, So our labour was to begin again. But as I now understand Vivian lay a dying for some time, that was the time when you should have begun your new application. You sat out, in every sense, too late. ... I believe I am more vexed and disappointed than you are; and not a little of my vexation falls upon yourself; or at least, would fall, if I did not think you must needs be very indifferent about the matter. Perhaps, all things considered, you may have good reason for being so. Wooll. 374-5.

3. Nowell seems to have been upon another occasion the successful applicant for an office sought by Warton. May 19, 1760 Bonnell Thornton wrote to Warton that he had 'promised Mr. Nowell first'. (Wooll, 268) He does not say what the office was, but it was probably that of public orator, to which Nowell was that year elected. D. N. B.

4. It was peculiarly fitting that Warton should have been elected

and the honours he had conferred upon the University. Warton was not so active in the prosecution of his course in ancient history as he had been in that of poetry thirty years earlier, and he never delivered any lectures after his inaugural one.

Before the expiration of his term as professor of poetry, Warton's interest had returned to the field of English literature, from which it had been temporarily distracted by his classical studies. He now began working seriously upon his great work, the History of English Poetry. We do not know when this plan first took shape as a history of poetry, but it was the very natural result of his earlier work. Before he published the Observations he had planned to collaborate with his brother in an edition of 'Select Epistles of Anglus Politianus, Desiderius, Erasmus, Hugo Grotius, and others, with notes' of such importance as to constitute a history of the revival of learning.[1] Perhaps this was abandoned because of the plan of their mutual friend, Collins, to publish a History of the Revival of Learning under Leo X.[2] And as, in the preparation of the Observations and the Fairy Queen Warton turned over a considerable amount of early English literature, he was naturally inclined to enter a field which had always had a strong attraction for him, and which so obviously needed exploration.

As soon as it became known among Warton's friends that

to the professorship founded by antiquary Camden in 1621. Mant says that Warton rebelled, however, against the antiquated requirement that the professor should lecture twice a week in Lucius Florus, or some other of the more ancient and distinguished historians. lxxxiv.

1. Wooll, 29.
2. Wooll, 29 and Warton's History.

he was engaged upon this important work, they were eager with offers of assistance. Dr. Farmer, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, furnished 'a pretty large Spenserian pacquet',[1] and asked for a 'job on the History'.[2] Hurd engaged to get him Gray's plan for a similar work, and called his attention to a Greek poem on the subject of Theseus;[3] Garrick not only permitted the use of his valuable collection of old plays and romances, but even sent them down to Oxford to be used[4] — a favour which Dr. Johnson complained had not been granted him.[5] In 1770 Gray sent him, in compliance with Hurd's request, the plan for a History of English Poetry which he had enlarged from Pope's. By this time Warton's volume was ready for the press,[6] having been written along quite different lines than Gray's so that Warton's History owes little to Gray, 'Although I have not followed this plan, yet it is of great service to me, and throws much light on many of my periods, by giving connected views and details'.[6]

There are only a few scattered scraps of evidence of the tremendous labour that went into this work, for Warton was a man

1. Letter Farmer to T. Warton. Nov. 19, 1766. Wooll (p. 313) prints this letter as to Dr. Warton, but that is unquestionably an error, as the rest of the letter shows conclusively.
2. Wool. 356.
3. Hurd to Warton Sept. 15, 1769. Wooll 348-9.
4. Garrick to Warton, June 29, 1769. Wooll 346.
5. Pref. to Shakespeare. Works V, 188. Boswell's Life, II, 192.
6. Warton to Gray. Winchester, April 20, 1770. ... 'What I have at present finished ends with the section on Chaucer, and will soon be in press. ...' Chalmer's English Poets, XVIII, 81. This letter was reprinted in Willis's Current Notes for November, 1854, as an 'inedited letter to Percy', and was quoted as such by Hazlitt, in his edition of the History, except that he says it appeared in the February number of that magazine. I. Preface p. xv.

who kept himself well in hand, and renewed his energy by the variety of his interests. By 1773 the first volume was mostly done, the collections of material, the transcriptions, the notes, — a somewhat disorderly mass, we may be sure, — and Warton was fast getting it ready for the press. After a merry social round at Oxford he went as usual to his brother's at Winchester to spend the long vacation, and prepare his volume for the press. From here he wrote to Price a characteristic letter in which are mingled busyness, sympathy for a poor homesick school-boy, concern to verify a few points for the history, a fling at a 'mere antiquary' and lively interest in Oxford news.

'Dear Price

What with Turtle-eating, Claret-drinking, etc, etc. I was so dissipated and hurried when I left Oxford, that I had no time to call upon you, nor to do many other things which I ought to have attended to, before I came away. I am now recollecting my scattered thoughts, and sitting down to complete the first volume of the History of English Poetry which is to be published before next Christmas. Humphreys is well; and if anything can be made of him Huntingford will do it, for he takes very Great Pains with him. The Boy says he will write to you. It has left off all his crying fits, and I believe is now quite reconciled to his situation. In your Library at Jesus you have a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's British Original. I wish you would look whether it appears to be of great antiquity; for it is pretended that it is the very copy from which Geoffrey made his Latin translations. I think you and I examined it formerly, and I believe the edges of the leaves are cutt too close. Pray compare and find out

(take notice I am not sending you on a Search into that vile country South-Wales) whether or so there is not a Squire Davies at Llanerk in Denbighshire, who has a very curious Library of Manuscripts; in which, as I am informed, there is a Copy of Geoffrey's original in the handwriting of Guthyn Owen a Welsh bart of 1470. By the way, Hall I think showed me in the Bodleian some Notes of the times of the Welsh Bards when they played for the silver Harp. Ask him about this. The trouble I am giving you puts me in mind of 'Antiquarian Gough, who called here last Thursday, but I was out at Dinner with the Bishop of St. Asaph. What News or Nonsense have you stirring in Oxford? Are you at Northbigh or in Jesus Common Room? Write to me. I am, Dear Price yrs. sincerely

T. Warton.

Winton, Aug. 16, 1773.'[1]

The first volume appeared in 1774 with the title, 'The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh Century to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are prefixed two Dissertations. 1. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe; 2. On the Introduction of Learning into England'. It bore the Colophon 'London: Printed for, and sold by J. Dodsley, Pall Mall;' and others, but it was printed by Daniel Prince at Oxford.[2] The second and third volumes of the history followed very promptly,— in 1778 and 1781 respectively, — considering the interruptions of teaching, and the publications of editions of his

1. Bodleian MSS. Auto. fol. d. 4.
2. Prince's Letters. Aug. 4, 1873. Lit. Anec. III. 696.

poems.[1] Most of the work had to be done at Winchester during the long vacations. It had been Warton's plan, at the time he published the first volume, to complete the history in another volume,[2] and he had much of the material then in hand, with the expectation of publishing soon.[3] But he soon discovered that to continue the work on the same extensive scale on which it was begun would require a third volume. 'My second volume goes on swimmingly; he wrote to his friend Price, the Bodleian Librarian, 'I have already written almost the whole; but I intend a third volume, of which more when we meet'.[4] But again his material proved too great; he got no farther than the reign of Elizabeth. The fourth volume, which was again intended to complete the work, was never finished, although repeatedly promised.[5] It was never, however completey abandoned, and at the time of Warton's death it was supposed that it could be completed by his brother Joseph, from the materials which Thomas had collected. Prince sent the eleven sheets, eighty-eight pages, of the fourth volume, which he had printed, to Dr. Warton who had collected all his brother's

1. Warton published an edition of his poems in 1777, and a 'third' in 1779. At the time of his death he had a fourth under way, which appeared in 1791.
2. See Letter to Gray. April 20, 1770. quoted page 32.
3. T. Warton to Price, Sept. 30, 1774. 'I have the pleasure to tell you that great part of the second volume of my History is ready for press.' Mant. lxxiv.
T. Warton to R.Gough. Nov. 11, 1776. 'My second volume ... I hope will appear soon.' Lit. Anec. VI. 178.
4. Warton to Price, Sept. 16, 1777. Mant. lxxv.
5. T. Warton to Price. Oct. 31, 1781. 'I have lately been working hard; have made some progress in my fourth volume ... ' Mant. Lxxviii.
Prince to Gough, Aug. 4, 1783. ... 'Mr. Warton's 'History of English Poetry' will be at press again at Michaelmas Next.' Lit. Anec. III. 696.
In the edition of Milton's Minor poems, 1785, the speedy publication of the 4th volume was announced.

papers and taken them to Winchester with the expectation of putting them in order and finishing the volume. Unfortunately, however Thomas Warton had never taken very careful notes; it was apparently his habit to write directly for the press after he had assembled all his material, no doubt trusting much to his memory, so there was probably little MS. that could be used by another. And Joseph had increased the confusion of the material by cramming the papers all together in disorder. Joseph made efforts to complete the work,[1] but, not being imbued with the same enthusiasm for the subject — he complained that the ground left for him to go over was 'so beaten'! — the task proved too much for him.

Dr. Percy and his friend Thomas Caldecott, Esq., a fellow of New College, who knew Warton, entertained the notion that he abandoned the completion of his history because of the scurrilous attack of the antiquary Ritson.[2] Mant, on the contrary

1. Joseph Warton to Mr. Hayley. March 12, 1792. 'At any leisure I get busied in finishing the last volume of Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, which I have engaged to do — for the booksellers are clamorous to have the book finished (tho' the ground I am to go over is so beaten) that it may be a complete work.' Wooll, 404.
Prince insinuates that Joseph Warton had the greater incentive to finish the work, in that a large part of the copy-money had been withheld till the work should be finished, and he was already disappointed that his brother had left him no money. Lit. Anec. III. 702.-3.

2. See infra for discussion of Ritson's criticism and the defense made by Warton and his friends.
Thos. Percy to Thos. Caldecott, Aug. 17, 1803. 'I certainly think with you, that the personal abuse of poor mad Ritson was the highest honour he could do me, and can only regret that it deprived us of the ingenious labours of "honest Tom Warton." I assure you it would have had no such influence on me.'
John Nichols: Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century. London, 1858. VIII. 372.
A similar notion seems to have inspired a curious and rather

Warton's biographer, asserts on the authority of 'an intimate friend of Mr. Warton' that he 'neither allowed the justness, nor felt, though he might lament, the keenness of the censure'.[1] An unpublished letter to George Steevens shows that he was disposed to treat the attack with contemptuous silence, although he felt he could answer most of the objections.[2] Later he was drawn into the controversy that was waged in the Gentleman's Magazine, and probably even contriubted one letter himself.[3] The real cause

1. Mant lxviii.
obscure caricature printed in London in 1806 as a sarcasm on Riston. Andrew Caldwell, in describing it says, 'he is surrounded with carrots and cabbages, and on the ground lies the Reliques. A print of poor Warton, with a knife and fork stuck in his belly; the meaning of this I do not understand.' Illus. Lit. VIII. 62. A. Caldwell to Bishop Percy. Dec. 26, 1805. It would seem to refer to Ritson's slaying and carving of Warton.

2. 'Dear Sir, I am greatly obliged to you for your Information about the Author of the quarto Pamphlet written against me in two Letters, the first dated at Emanuel College, the second at Hampstead. What a universal Caviller and Corrector! But surely, whatever may be done with a previous and separate piece of criticism, no bookseller would be found absurd enough to contract for a new edition of Shakespeare after yours![1] I could disprove most of his objections were it a matter of any Consequence. To speak to one here, Dr. Farmer suggested to me the Calculation concerning the Gesta Alexandri printed by Corsellis, showing that th(MS. burnt away here) was completed at Press on a Sunday.[2] I (am MS. burnt) told the Pamphlet makes some way at C(ambrid MS burnt)ge, under the Auspices of Dr. Glyn(n)e. But it (MS burnt) is too heavy to move much. Wh(MS. burnt)ay, Dean Milles was here in (MS. burnt), for a week, I found on my Table on my Return hither, a present of Ritson's Quarto "with Compliments from the Author". We will have your new Rowley Anecdotes when we meet in town after Xmas. I am, Dear Sir, your most faithfull humble servant. T. Warton.
Oxon. Nov. 8, 1782.' Bodleian MSS. Montagu. fol. 48.
(1) Ritson projected an edition, but printedonly a few sheets in 1787. D.N.B.
(2) Ritson's Observations on the three first volumes of the History of English Poetry, 1782. p.15, criticism of Warton's History. II. 8.

3. Warton to J. Nicholls, editor of the Gent. Mag. Nov. 3, 1783. Lit. Illus. IV. 739. See also Lit. Anec. VI. 182.

of the neglect of the history was probably the same which left every other of his works not carried to the point of completion originally intended— the distraction of his interest to other fields, so that, without ever quite abandoning the project, he probably never took it up with any resolute intention of completing it, after the publication of the third volume.

As previously indicated, the poet in Warton was never wholly lost in the scholar. Although he was able to direct the strength of his genius and energy into other fields, his poetry seems always to have been his dearest offspring. He continued to write verses occasionally all through his busy life. Taking advantage of his reputation as critic of Spenser and historian of English poetry, he published in 1777 a thin volume of his poems, in which appeared for the first time some of his best verse, notably all the sonnets but one and the odes 'On the Death of King Arthur' and 'The Crusade'. Though Warton was sufficiently acute as a critic to see the shortcomings of his poetry, he was extremely sensitive as to its reputation. He whose every great work was subjected to bitter attack, who could meet the virulence of the half-mad Ritson with dignified contempt, and could even enjoy the joke when his perfunctory birth-day ode was cleverly satirized, could not hear the unfavourable criticism of his serious verse at the hands of an old friend. When Dr. Johnson ridiculed their characteristic flavour of antiquity and strangeness even his protest that he 'loved the fellow dearly' could not save the feelings of the author, and a friendship that had endured for more than twenty years was terminated. General opinion of Warton's

poetry was, however sufficiently favourable to warrant a second edition in the same year, and a third two years later.[1]

When, on the death of Whitehead in 1785, Warton was appointed poet laureate, on the king's own initiative, it was said,[2] the honour was no doubt conferred as much in recognition of his distinguished abilities as man of letters in general as of his merit as a poet, although, when one has glanced over the list of possibilities for the office in 1785, the selection of Warton appears almost inevitable. The appointment was altogether undesired, for Warton, while he did not share Gray's contempt for the office,[3] had deplored the laureate's necessity for writing upon occasion, and the triteness of perpetual repetition.[4] When the office was bestowed upon him he accepted it, and voiced the required conventional flattery as best he could by dwelling upon the glories of the past. Warton's laureate odes were probably the least valuable of his poems; they are the most commonplace and show less of his peculiar poetic gift. They were more than once the butt of not ill-natured ridicule. The first of these was

1. Dr. Johnson's 'this frost has struck them in again' was probably a prejudiced report of their reception, for the succession of editions, even though small, certainly indicates a degree of success. Boswell's Johnson. III. 158, note.
2. Michael Lort to Thos. Percy, May 5, 1785. 'T. Warton was made Poet Laureate, as some say, at the King's own motion; others say Sir Joshua Reynolds mentioned him to the Lord Chamberlain. The place is worth clear money 120£ a year.' Lit. Illus. VII.468.
3. Gray had declined the appointment on the death of Cibber (1757) and wrote quite contemptuously to Mason of the office. Dec. 19, 1757. 'Nevertheless I interest myself a little in the history of it, and rather wish somebody may accept it that will retrieve the credit of the thing, if it be retrievable, or ever had any credit.' Letters, II. 345.
4. History of English Poetry II. 133.

the publication in 1785 of 'Probationary Odes on the Laureateship' in which the poem assigned to the laureate was actually his own composition, the first birth-day ode. No one enjoyed the joke and the wit of the satires in this volume more than Warton himself.[1] They were also made sport of in the 'Expostulatory Epistle of Brother Peter to Brother Tom', in which 'Peter staringly expostulateth with Thomas on his unprecedented silence on the royal perfections in his last New Year's Ode, etc.',[2] and other satires of 'Peter Pindar'.

The principal literary interest which superseded the History of English Poetry was not, however, the poetry, which was never after Warton's youth anything but an incident, but a return to one of his first loves, Milton. Warton had transferred the notes he had made in his copy of Milton to the 'Observations on the Fairy Queen' in 1754, and throughout the History had lost few opportunities of comparison with him, while his poetry had always been steeped in Miltonism. The final outcome of this lifelong interest ~~interest~~ was one of Warton's best works, an edition of the minor poems, published in 1785. In his preface Warton gave a very brief review of the history of Milton's reputation, showing how the minor poems were eclipsed by the longer epics, to the extent of being almost ignored, until early in the eighteenth century; when finally the school of Milton rose

1. Pope's Works, with the principal notes of Drs. Warburton and Warton. 2nd ed. 1806. VI, 324-5 note.
2. Written in 1789 by John Wolcott; Works of Peter Pindar, 5 vols London 1796. II. 61. Wolcott also wrote in the same vein Instructions to a Celebrated Laureat alias the Progress of curiosity etc. II. 25, and Ode upon Ode; or a Peep at St. James's; etc. Critical Review. 1787. lxiii, 310.

in emulation of the school of Pope.[1] The purpose of Warton's edition was, as he said, 'to explain our author's allusions, to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties, to point out his imitations both of others, and of himself, to elucidate his obsolete diction, and by the adduction and juxtaposition of parallels universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favourite words, and to shew the peculiarities of his phraseology.' This was of course the method that Warton had used to such telling effect in his Observations on the Fairy Queen. To the execution of this task Warton brought an enormous erudition, a life time of reading of English literature in its more remote and little known periods; and the result is the accummulation of a great body of illustrative material of very great value.[2] In addition to his annotations of a strictly literary sort, Warton endeavoured to add such fresh biographical material as should illustrate his poet.

1. Preface to Milton xii.

2. The edition of Milton was not, however, without its faults, in spite of the learning it displayed. These were the subject of an anonymous 'Letter to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Warton on his late edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems; in which he was very harshly criticized for carrying his explanations of allusions and illustrations to an unreasonable length, for quoting too copiously from the 'English Black-Letter Classics' (the author of the pamphlet had a great contempt for the 'uncommon Relish' of the 'present age' for 'all such Reading as was never read', which he thought fit only for very young readers) and the unnecessary severity of his criticism of Milton's Puritanism. Other censures, mostly on particular points of interpretation, were made in this Letter, and in letters to the Gentleman's Magazine, in the pages of which he was also defended. Of the last charge of the 'Letter' it may be admitted that Warton was indeed always singularly intolerant of Calvinism, and did indulge in gratuitous criticism of Milton's religion; the second of course only reveals the author's (of the Letter) Augustan taste; while the first is largely a question of expediency. Masson called Warton's the best critical edition of Milton ever published. (D.N.B.) Warton's notes were transferred almost bodily to Todd's 'variorum' edition of Milton, 1801, and to Hawkins's edition, 1824. In the latter practically all the notes to the minor poems are Warton's. The account of the origin of Comus was incorporated in an edition of Comus, London. 1799. See Bibliography.

Particularly valuable in this way was his account of the origin and history of Comus. He was also able after a long and tedious search,[1] to add to the second edition of the poems[2] Milton's nuncupative will, together with evidence taken at the hearing of the case upon its being contested.[3]

It is necessary to repeat of Warton's edition of Milton's minor poems what has become almost the regular formula for each of Warton's works, — more was intended, and the plan even carried to an advanced stage of completion but the proposed work was never finished. In this case Warton was preparing a second volume to include a study of the 'Paradise Regained' and 'Samson Agonistes' similar to that given the shorter poems. Unfortunately that moving of Warton's papers from Oxford to Winchester which wrought such havoc in the notes for the fourth volume of the History, was even more disastrous in this case — the edition of Milton interleaved with notes for the new volume was completely lost.[4]

1. Warton declared his inability to find the will in the first edition, and concluded that it was no longer in existence. But with the aid of Sir Wm. Scott he was able to prove its existence in the second edition 1790. Monthly Review. 1793. p.25.

2. 1791. The second edition was quite ready for the press at the time of his death, and appeared the following year. T. Warton to Price, Winchester, Oct. 12, 1789. 'I return with my new edition of Milton ready for press at the Clarendon'. Mant lxxxix. See also preface to second edition, page xxvi and Letters to Malone, 16 Dec. 1787 and Nov. 21, 1789. British Museum Additional MSS. 30378. (see appendix).

3. Warton added the record of Milton's baptism from the parish register of All hallows, Breadstreet. (fol. 42) Hawkins's Milton, Life p. iii, note.

4. Apparently the loss was not discovered until five years later when Mr. Dunster applied to Dr. Warton for contributions toward an edition of Paradise Regained, and then nothing was to be found. Mant xci. Mant calls attention to the omission in the 2nd edition of notes contained in the first, and references to notes on Paradise Regained or Samson Agonistes, as evidences of the intention of including them in the 2nd volume.

I add here three unpublished letters of Warton's, referring to the preparation of both editions of Milton's. The inquiry for an edition of Randolph's poems with Jonus added at the end originated from a letter of Sir Henry Wootton to Milton, 1638. (See Warton's Edition of Milton, 2nd edition, p 119). Such an edition was not however to be found. Warton's explanation of Wootton's letter, borne out by Bowle's conjectures as well, appears in the 2nd edition, p. 119-120, note. The third letter mentions some additions that were made in the 2nd edition, which was then ready for the press, while his allusion to the Trinity MS. which would be wanted for the present volume, unquestionably indicates a 2nd volume, i.e. Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes.

The address to John Reed is a singular error for Isaac, the antiquary, who lived at Staple's Inn, London, and edited, with additions, Baker's Bibliographis Dramatica.

To John (Isaac) Reed, Esq.

At Staple-Inn

London.

Sir

I should esteem it a great favour if you could lend me T. Randolph's Poems, printed at Oxford in 1637, (8) not 1640 which is the second edition. Please to send it by one of the Oxford Coaches. I am too sensible how little I deserve such Favours, after keeping your Walpole's Letter so long.

I am, Sir, your most obedient

humble servant

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

April 13, 1783.

MSS. Montagu d 2 fol, 51. Bodleian Library.

To John(Isaac)Reed, Esq.

Staple-inn.

Mr. Warton presents Comps. and many Thanks to Mr. Reed — you were properly right in guessing why I wished to see this Book. I have been (with you) long searching for Comus at the end of this volume of Randolph. I shall make use (with due acknowledgement) of what you say about the Old Wives Tale and Comus, in your Bibl. Dramatica. If you could communicate any thing more on that Point, deserving notice, it would be most highly acceptable. I think Mr. Bowle (Wilts) told me he saw a Randolph, with Comus annexed.[1] I shall see him soon and will inquire, I hope with success. You many command me for anything at Oxford.

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon

April 19th, 1783.

To George Steevens, Esq.

At Hamstead-Heath

Hamstead

Middlesex

Dear Sir,

You give me a most tempting Invitation to Cambridge. I am sorry it is out of my power to accept so much kindness — my engagements for visits and parties in September have been long ago formed. The Trinity manuscript will not be wanted till we arrive at the end of the present volume: I think with you, that I must —

1. See Wooll 399 Bowel's letter to T. W. Apr. 22, 1783.
2. MSS. Montagu d. 2. fol. 54.

Transcribe; and I will endeavour to arrange the matter so as to visit Cambridge at Christmas next, and to do the business. My first volume, with many considerable alterations and accessions is quite ready for Press; and the Copy of the Friend is in forwardness, so that I believe I shall be out 3 next April.

I see that Milton's L'Allegro and Il Penseroso went into Dryden's Miscellanies (vol.i) edit 1716, 4th edit. I am informed that Fenton superintended that edition. I should be glad to know the history of the progress of that Miscellany, and what new insertions were successivly made. I am almost sure that those two poems were not in the earlier editions. Could Mr. Reed edify me in this point? Any hints you could gather from Dr. Farmer for my Notes would be highly acceptable. I wrote to Mr. Reed some months ago about Editions of Milton's Poems, but have not yet had the favour of an Answer. Dr. Farmer perhaps has got a thing called the Cyprian Academy by Robert Baron 1649, 12mo. This author has pillaged very long passages from Comus, etc. I have the book. We have one, and but one, edition of Googe's Palingenius, in the Bodleian. I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours

T. Warton.

Southampton, July 27th 1789.

P.S. I am just now very loco-motive
but a letter is sure to find me
at Dr. Warton's, Winchester.

1. See Preface to Milton.
2. Engl. Misc. C 1. fol. 85.

Besides the important work upon the Milton, Warton was also busy, after the appearance of the third volume of the History, with a number of other works, the Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds, the Chatterton pamphlet, the History of Kiddington, and the Observations, Critical and Historical on Churches, Monasteries, Castles and Other Monuments of Antiquity etc. As the first two will be discussed at length subsequently[1] they are mentioned only to show the variety of interests with which Warton was simultaneously engaged. The other two are part of that antiquarian interest which was briefly mentioned in connection with its first manifestations in the Description of Winchester, in 1790.

Throughout his life Warton was in close touch with every branch of antiquarian research and master of many of them. With a broader view and incomparably greater genius than the majority of the antiquarians possessed, he had devoted most of his life to the study of the antiquities of literature, with results of incalculable benefit to the literature of his century; but the very breadth of his view and scope of his genius — his very romanticism — made it impossible for him to limit himself even to so vast a field as he had chosen. In all his works, but in the History of Poetry especially, he had continually found a place, in his notes at least, for comments on all sorts of antiquities, — numismatics, topography, diplomatics, and above all architecture. This latter was Warton's particular hobby, pursued with diligence throughout his life, though unfortunately, although he embodied a portion of his researches in various works, his great work on

1. See pages 134-5, 234-42.

the history of Gothic architecture never appeared.

One important characteristic distinguishes Warton's antiquarianism from that of his contemporaries. It was never an end in itself, but always a part of a greater whole. Warton regarded the results of antiquarian research as contributions to a general history of ancient manners, arts and customs. He had a romantic, a scientific appreciation of the value of details, but he usually avoided the romantic excess of losing the general in the particular. His ideal, however, he was unable to carry out in his own antiquarian work, that is, he was able to concern himself with only a few of the particulars, and to point out their relation to the whole subject, or how general conclusions might be drawn from a sufficient number of such preliminary studies. His theory is best set forth in the preface to his History of Kiddington, in which he claimed for a properly written county history entertainment, importance, and universality. 'What is local', he said, 'is often national ... General knowledge is to be drawn from particularities; and nothing, in my apprehension, would more effectively facilitate the reduction of our Celtic, Romance, Saxon and Danish antiquities to a system, than distinct and separate descriptions of every county'.[1] And this work, he thought, could best be done, not by the cursory view of the traveller, but by the long and familiar observation of men whose leisure and opportunities for more careful study of a limited field enabled them to describe with 'united comprehension and precision': — comprehension of the general, the whole, precision

1. Preface iii and iv.

in detail, the parts.

The little History of Kiddington, or Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire, purported to be nothing more than such a partial study, which the author evidently hoped might compose, with others like it, a history of the county of Oxford that, in turn, looked toward a general history of antiquities. With such an object, Warton did not intend this work for publication. He had twenty copies printed for circulation[1] among those of his friends who were interested in parochial histories,[2] and who might be induced to make contributions for a larger work such as he contemplated. The secret of its authorship was not very well

1. Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire: Being the History and Antiquities of Kiddington. 1st edition 20 copies privately printed. 1782, 4⁰. 2nd ed. 1783. See Lit. Anec. III, 695. 2nd ed. p. 12.
Martin: Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately Printed Books, 2nd ed. 1854. p. 91.

2. Without attempting any list of parochial histories, I subjoin the comment of one author of such works upon Warton's History. It is part of a letter from Sir John Cullum, who was then engaged in writing his History and Antiquities of Hawsted and Hardwich etc, published in the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, no. xxiii (1784) and separately later. It seems not unlikely that the History of Suffolk, for which he made collections, but never completed, may have been modelled upon Warton's suggestion. Writing to Nichols, Jan. 14, 1783, he said, 'How do you like Mr. Warton's Specimen of the History of Oxfordshire.' It is certainly better than what an ordinary hand could produce; yet not equal to what might have been expected from such a master. A Parochial History seems to me no very easy task; particularly in the arrangement of the materials. Mr. Warton begins with the History of the Church; the Author of the wellwritten account of Hinckley, with that of Property. I wish you would give me your oppinion about this matter. ... for I am meditating on Historiola of my native Parish of Hawsted, where chance has given me some interest, and for which I have no small stock of materials.' Lit. Anec. VIII, 688.

kept,[1] and the author soon thought it best to revise the whole for publication, with an explanation of his general purpose. He concluded the preface!— 'If this little work should not attain its original destination; nor ever arrive at the good fortune of being incorporated into a regular and comprehensive survey of the county of Oxford, at least it may serve in its present state of publication, as a specimen of the writer's general idea of provincial histories.'

Of all the works that Warton left unfinished at his death none is so tantalizing as the one he more than once described as 'Observations, Critical and Historical, on Churches, Monasteries, Castles and Other Monuments of Antiquity', and which was repeatedly announced[2] as ready for publication, but which never appeared. The first indication of interest in this subject occurs, as was mentioned before, in the second edition of the Observations on the Fairy Queen[3] where a very brief review of the history of architecture in England was given, with examples illustrative of the various periods which Warton, not very accurately, described as Saxon,[4] Gothic Saxon, Saxon Gothic, and absolute,

1. Lit. Anec. III. 695.
2. Price to Gough June 11, 178(1) 'Warton's Observations etc. ... are ready for the press; but the History of Architecture is not yet finished. How soon he will publish them, I cannot say.' Lit. Illus. V. 528.
3. Observations on the Fairy Queen ed. 1762 II, 185 ff. ed. 1807 II, 206 ff. This essay was included in a volume of 'Essays on Gothic Architecture by the Rev. T. Warton, Rev. J. Bentham etc. London 1800, where it occupies pages 1-15. The second edition included a list of the Cathedrals of England. 1802. Third ed. 1808.
4. By 'Saxon' Warton understood 'Norman', and later he used the latter term. See MSS. copy book II. p. 22. May 3, 1769. Warton ascribed the origin of the Gothic to the Saracens, but he showed an appreciation of the main differences between the two distinct styles, the rounded arches and windows, zig-zag carvings

Ornamental and Florid Gothic. It was referred to again in the History of English Poetry as a work soon to appear.[1] Price, the Bodleian Librarian, and Warton's close friend, was authority for the statement that Warton purposed contributing a paper on the History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England to the Antiquarian Society, of which he had long been a member,[2] but to which he had not contributed any papers; and also for the more interesting statement that among Warton's papers which came into his hands at his death, and which he communicated to Dr. Warton, there was a manuscript written out ready for the press, with directions to the printer, which contained a History of Saxon and Gothic Architecture.[3] Such a manuscript — and there is less reason to question Price's statement than to deplore the carelessness with which Warton's papers were evidently handled immediately after his death — has never been found. After Joseph Warton's papers passed into the hands of his son John, they seem to have been well taken care of, and he made a thorough, but vain, search for a manuscript. He did find, however, what still remains in the possession of his heirs, some manuscripts[4] which contain part of

and round massy pillars, with simple and and regular capital and base of the Norman, and the pointed arches, varying from the slender points of the early period to the elaborate flowing tracery of the later decorated styles, withe the accompanying complexity of clustered pilasters, elaborate window grouping, fantastic capitals and ornamental vaultings of the Gothic.

1. History of Eng. Poetry. I, Dissertation I, (p. 113) note a. and III, Diss. III, p. xxii.
2. Warton was elected a fellow of this society in 1771. D.N.B.
3. Mant xxxii.
4. They are the property of Miss Catharine H. Lee, Church Manor, Bishop's Stortford, Herts., the great grand daughter of Joseph Warton. Miss Lee very kindly permitted me to examine the MSS. and to have copies made of them. The MSS. consist of the four original copy books in Thomas Warton's very crabbed hand,

the material for the work, manuscripts which are of considerable value to his biographer as they show the way he spent his holidays in untiring devotion to this hobby.

These summer holiday tours, so far as we can judge from the manuscripts, began in 1760,[1] though there is some reason to

which are notes made on the course of his rambles. There are also eight transcripts, or enlarged versions of the first notes, which are not so much additions as fuller version of the first condensed form. (There are also copies of the eight books of transcripts, copied out faithfully and much more legibly by the laureate's sister, Miss Jane Warton, who was devoted to both her brothers, and was herself a woman of considerable education.) The copybooks evidently were not the only records made on the journies, for one frequently finds tantalizing notes 'see Tom Warton's Journal', or 'N. B. Examine Pockett-Book', for neither Journal nor Pocket-book is in existence. The very incomplete and unordered condition of both the copy books and transcripts shows that they are not the 'copy fairly written out for the press' which Price described to Mant. Some of the comments or the first page of the MS with the title are interesting, especially the one 'a work of Taste & history of manners' which illustrate the point of which I have spoken above, that Warton had an eye to the bearing of antiquarian work upon a history of ancient manners.

'Critical and Historical Observations. On Churches, Castles, etc. in various Counties of England. Taken from an actual Survey. Improved from the Author's collection printed and pub.

(only so much added from books as might illustrate and confirm what I said. Persons on the spot will find fault with why I have added "certain".(a)

A work of Taste & history of manners —

This work is the result of various journies & the examination of various MSS. evidences.'

(a) On the next page the title appears, 'on certain churches' etc. The MSS. in their present form have practically no value except as they might be used by a modern archeologist to discover the state of the various buildings and ruins which he described 150 years ago, as most of them have been considerably altered either in the way of the so called 'restoration' which Warton so much deplored, or by falling into greater ruin.

1. The earliest date in these manuscripts is Dec. 30, 1759, a description of St. Alban's, Herts. The place and date indicate that the observations were made upon the return journey from London to Oxford, as it was often the custon of both the Wartons to go up to London for a brief visit at Christmas time.

think the habit of taking careful notes of architectural antiquities personally observed had been formed earlier.[1] Perhaps that too was an inheritance. The idea of utilizing the records of places visited for the definite purpose of a history of antiquities was a later thought. As soon after the close of the Trinity term as it was possible for Warton to get away from Oxford, he would set out with a companion, — possibly one of his pupils,— on a pair of steady roadsters, to make a leisurely peregrination, or 'ramble', of perhaps two weeks. Sometimes the route lay southwestward, through Kent, Sussex and Essex, with visits at Lewes, Croydon, Canterbury,[2] etc., and usually admitting of a brief stay in London;[3] sometimes northward, through Norfolk and Suffolk, to visit Newark and Lincoln, Norwich,[4] Thetford and Ely;[5] again westward into Wales, where romantic landscapes furnished a fine setting for ruined castles.[6] Frequently the journey seem to have begun at Winchester, — perhaps the 'Adelphi of poetry' sometimes made the tours together, — proceeding by easy stages southward to Christ Church where Thomas made observations on the fine old 'Saxon' (Norman) building with its Gothic

1. The Description of Winchester, 1750, discussed above. Walpole began his 'little Gothic Castle at Strawberry Hill' in 1750, so Warton was not far, if at all, behind him in his architectural antiquarianism.
2. May, 1763. Copy Book I. p. 16-29. June 1764 Copy Book II. 13-17.
3. Warton was at Rochester, Kent, May 25, 1763 and London lay on his route to either Oxford or Winchester. (I. 19) He was at Dover, Kent June 7, and Waltham, Essex, June 14, 1764 the journey from Dover to Kent — of which no account is given — could not have occupied a week's time and the route lay through London again. (II. 16) He was at Hampton Court, just outside London May 7, 1769. (II, 24).
4. 1765. II. 18-21.
5. 1769. II. 22-33.
6. May, 1762. I. 15-22. May 1771, III. 9-24.

casing, and indignantly lamented the damage it suffered during the grand rebellion when the horses of the Presbyterians were stabled in the Lady's Chapel, to the serious injury of the fine ornamental work over its altar;[1] thence westward, in picturesque Devonshire, and to Exeter where Warton found the cathedral 'very heavy and far from magnificent';[2] northward to Taunton and Glastonbury,[3] where the portcullis and sprig-rose of Henry VII were conspicuous decorative features, not only of the abbey, but in various parts of the town — ornaments which Warton shrewdly suspected were taken from the abbey itself; and from there back to Oxford by way of Circenester.[4]

We have a glimpse of Warton and his companion amid the ruins of Goodrich Castle in Herefordshire, — a castle picturesquely situated 'on the edge of woody and rocky declivity, rising from a romantick[5] and winding valley, water'd by the river Wye, which flows through rich meadows',[6] — spending the long May afternoon wandering about its scanty ruins, tracing the lines of the old walls — the square Norman tower there, the Chapel here, indicated by the remains of the great east window and the 'perishing outline' of a saint in red at the entrance, — and in the late evening lingering over an inscription whose antique characters were scarcely legible in the last rays of the sun setting behind

1. MSS. Copy books I. 1-2. May 5, 1761.
2. May 8, 1761. Copy book I. 3-4.
3. May 14-15, 1761. Copy book I. 4-6.
4. May 19, 1761. Copy book 6.
5. Another 'romantick' situation described in the MS. copy books was that of the old Dormitory at Brecknock, 'on a Declivity cover'd with oaks falling down to the irregular windings of the River Usk May 18, 1771. MS Copy book III. 11.
6. May 12, 1771. MSS. Copy book III. 3-4.

the castle.[1] We see them at Hereford Cathedral, bewailing the disfigurement of the nave 'by a most shabby set of pews for hearing the sermons', and the arches opening into the choir by a 'very clumsy and tawdrey organ gallery', when it was turned into a parish church.[2] Frequently we find Warton among the ruins of some old church looking over the old sexton's trumpery collection of 'relics', — keys, coins, medals, bits of brasses etc. — in hope of making a real 'find',[3] or in a less dilapidated church, leading on the sexton or old chorister to tell of the old days when the vaulted arches reechoed at matins and evensong the tones of the now disused organ and the voices of the choir long since disbanded.[4] On all these journeys Warton's enthusiasm never flagged; with scrupulous care he noted down all the various styles of architecture, the general state of preservation or decay, the subjects of storied windows, the fine old brasses and tombs which had escaped the ravages of time and the Presbyterians, and made notes for future reference to antiquarian authorities to support his conjectures.

Very naturally Warton's purpose soon came to be more than simply investigation. His enthusiastic love for these fine old treasures was roused to indignation as he saw their dilapidation hastened by the vandalism of rural neighborhoods who pillaged the ruins of noble abbeys and castles to build their own houses or roads,[5] and he did what he could to stay their ravages. The

1. May 12, 1771. MSS. Copy book III. 3-4.
2. May 13, 1771. III. 6.
3. MS. Copy book I. 10.
4. Llandaff, May 30, 1760. MSS Copy book I. 23.
5. MS. C. B. II. p. 27.

grandmother of the present owner of the manuscripts could relate tales of her uncle's selfcongratulations on the subject of his efforts in that direction. He would relate with glee how often he had stopped some pursy vicar riding with his wife stuck behind him on a pillion into Oxford, or Winchester, or about any neighborhood in which he had sojourned, and how he had scolded, and argued, and almost shed tears, rather than fail to enlist their sympathies in favour of some tomb or niche, which he had heard of as being doomed to destruction', or how he had lingered 'over ale and tobacco in out-of-the-way roadside inns' to convert from the error of his ways some stupid farmer, who had designs on the recumbent effigy of doughty knight or stately dame, and was about to have it mutilated and maimed for the purpose of making more pew-room for the hoops and petticoats of his buxom daughters'.[1] No doubt not the least valuable results of Warton's antiquarian jaunts was in the way of staying the hands of such destroyers throughout the country side, while he was attempting at the same time to arouse in the polite reading public a renewed interest in the treasurers of their glorious past which would ensure their future preservation.

To appreciate the significance and importance of Thomas Warton's intent in Gothic architecture, one has but to consider the depth of contempt and neglect into which that style of architecture had sunk in the eighteenth century in the works of the revival of the Renaissance style introduced from Italy by Inigo

1. Henry Boyle Lee: Thomas Warton. Cornhill Magazine, June, 1865. III. 737. This is a spirited and lively description of the man, but superficial in treatment of the literary side of his life.

Jones, and later popularized by the great Sir Christopher Wren. The beauties of Westminster Abbey and the Tower were quite forgotten by eighteenth century admirers of St. Paul's who were not to be easily won back to an appreciation of mediaeval architectural beauties. The revival of interest in Gothic architecture has always been closely associated with the revival of mediaevalism by students of the romantic movement,[1] and the name which has always occupied the most prominent place among those who contributed to the movement is that of the eighteenth century dilettante and virtuoso, Horace Walpole. The manuscript notes on architecture of Thomas Warton establish his claim to be considered with Walpole in this respect, and make it appear that his interest and influence were deeper and more closely related to his other work.

In neither Walpole nor Warton did love of the Gothic in architecture arise from any thorough knowledge of mediaeval building. Both were distressingly ignorant (from a modern point of view) of the details of the subject, so that even Warton, who went into the subject on the technical side much more thoroughly than Walpole,[2] gave only a confused description of the periods and styles of architecture. Warton's Gothicism had a much deeper

1. H. A. Beers: History of English Romanticism in the 18th century. 1906. Chapter VII. The Gothic Revival.

2. In those fields where their interests touched, Walpole always recognized Warton's superior scholarship and mastery of the subject, however much he might question the importance of the subject. When Warton sent him the second edition of the Observations on the Fairy Queen with a complimentary note, Walpole replied with real sincerity '... compare your account of Gothic architecture with mine; I have scarce skimmed the subject; you have ascertained all its periods.' Walpole to Warton, Aug. 21, 1762. Walpole's Letters. Toynbee ed. V, 237.

root than Walpole's. With Warton it was innate, temperamental; with Walpole an acquired taste. Walpole's Gothicism was but the casual outgrowth of his virtuosity, the application of his ardor for collecting to a particular and somewhat large field. Warton's was the necessary outgrowth of that love of the past which was so strong a stimulus in all his work. Warton approached the Gothic from the side of literature, of poetry; he was first a poet, then a scholar, then an antiquary. Walpole's approach was from the opposite direction; he was first a virtuoso, then an antiquary and, though he finally touched literature as a novelist, through his Gothicism, he never had any sympathy with Gothic poetry. And so Walpole's interest in Gothic architecture was a shallow dilettantism which expressed itself in such superficialities as his 'little Gothic Castle at Strawberry Hill',[1] where he is said to have 'outlined three sets of his own battlements', and in parodies of altars and tombs for his chimney pieces and cathedral pillars for his garden gate posts.[2]

Although no doubt one of the first modern Englishmen who found out that our old cathedrals were really beautiful,[3] mediaevalism was after all for him only a toy, and his absurd imitations of old architecture resemble the 'whilom' and 'ywis' of the imitators of Spenser and early English diction at the beginning of the century. Walpole's service in setting a Gothic fashion in architecture is quite comparable to that of some poets

1. Walpole to Horace Mann, Jan. 10, 1750. Walpole's Letters II. 423.
2. C. L. Eastlake: A History of the Gothic Revival. London, 1872 p. 48.
3. Leslie Stephen: Hours in a Library. Ed. 1907. II. 139.

who parodied Spenser, whose half-amused fondness for that style of verse gave it a certain light popularity that availed little until genuine love and appreciation had produced a justification of its beauties on firm grounds of critical theory, such as Warton's Observations on the Fairy Queen. Warton's admiration for the architectural beauties of the past was endeavoring to render a similar service to Gothic architecture; his Observations on the Churches, Castles, etc. of England, with its pendent History of Gothic Architecture, would have been a companion piece to his Observations on Spenser in all that enthusiastic love of the subject, genuine admiration and careful observation could do. But, unfortunately for the history of Gothic architecture in England Warton was a scholar, not a builder; poetic insight could not fathom the mysteries of architecture, and Warton's history, had it been published, would probably have had a far less revolutionary and permanent value than his critical work in a sister art.

Warton was very likely before Walpole in his appreciation of the beauties of Gothic architecture,[1] and certainly was quite as influential in reviving public interest in Gothic, even though his work which was to set forth its history never appeared. His services in arresting the destruction of the crumbling remains of feudal castle and mediaeval abbies under the combined depradations

1. Walpole first refers to Gothic architecture in his letters to Horace Mann in 1750. (II. 423, 433 etc.) Warton's 'Pleasures of Melancholy' written in 1745 published in 1747 contain such references to Gothic architecture as 'ruin'd abbey', 'taper'd choir and 'Gothic vaults'; his 'Triumph of Isis' 1749 has a eulogy of the'fretted pinnacles' of the Gothic beauties of Oxford; and his'Description of Winchester' 1750, is full of descriptions of Gothic architecture.

of time and ruthless neighbors, though quite unostentatious was more persistent, and probably far more effective, especially as his landlessness kept him from the temptation to add a few genuine old Gothic pieces to a miscellaneous collection of imitations to which both Walpole and Sir Walter Scott yielded. For his genuine and deep-rooted admiration for Gothic architecture as revealed in his poetry, for his persistent efforts to comprehend its forms and development, for his attempt to write its history illustrated with descriptions of many of its best examples throughout England, and for his quiet but earnest efforts to preserve those examples, Warton's name certainly deserves to stand first in the list of those who contributed to the revival of interest in Gothic architecture as part of the whole Gothic revival.

The genuineness of Warton's enthusiastic love of Gothic architecture kept alive his interest for at least forty years, although he was unable during all that time to bring his knowledge of its details to that degree of thoroughness which marks his other works. In his inability to be content with so superficial a Gothicism as Walpole's, and the impossibility of gaining at that time a thorough mastery of a wholly neglected subject, especially by a poetical scholar even though he be also a painstaking antiquary, lies, I think, the secret of the long delay in the completion of this work.

As I have said before, Warton did not consider himself a professional man of letters, although his distinguished achievements in that field have tended to overshadow more and more those occupations which were professedly his chief concern, his position

as clergyman of the Church of England, as fellow and tutor of Trinity College and as professor of the University of Oxford. These last have been mentioned as having an intimate connection with his claim to the regard of modern students — his career in literature. But Warton as a clergyman is almost overlooked. And justly. Intended by his father for the church as the most honourable calling open to a man of his family and parts and the one calculated to make least exacting demands upon his time or abilities, yet one which ensured at the most a comfortable living, and at the best almost unlimited opportunities for preferments and distinction should he prove ambitious, Thomas Warton accepted this most natural view of his career. Immediately upon taking his first degree he entered holy orders and proceeded in due time to the divinity degree.[1] His first appointment was to the curacy of Woodstock, Oxfordshire, which he served for nearly twenty years.[2] In October 1771, he was presented to the small living of Kiddington,[3] near Woodstock, which he retained until his death. Two other small livings are also assigned to him, the vicarage of Shalfield, Wiltshire,[4] and Hill Farance Somerset, the gift of his college.[5]

1. A. B. 1747. B. D. 1767. Foster: Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886. IV. 1505.
2. Apr. 1755 to Apr. 1774, says Chalmers, quoting Baldwin's Literary Journal, 1803, where, he says, appeared anecdotes 'written by one who knew him well'. Chalmers XVIII, 84. The parish register for Woodstock does not show when Warton was appointed curate there There are records of marriages by Warton, 1 March, 1767 and 10 February, 1771, and that he published banns in 1768.
3. Modern Kidlington. This living was given Warton by George Henry, Earl of Lichfield, the Chancellor of the University, Oct. 22, 1771. See History of Kiddington, 2nd ed. 1783, p. 12.
4. 1768 Anderson: British Poets, XI, 1054.
5. 1782. Mant, lxxxii.

While Warton's career as a clergyman occupies no considerable importance in his history, it was not discreditable judged by students of his day, nor is it without interest. Neither his talents nor his ambitions lay in the direction of clerical work; he sought no preferments, and his abilities as a divine were not such as to command substantial rewards. His only preferments were retired village churches in the neighborhood of Oxford, which had at least the merit of not interrupting his residence there, nor interferring with his scholarly pursuits, and we must certainly believe that his interest in literature was greater than in his clerical work. In the pulpit Warton was apparently not very effective. His indistinct and hurried manner of speaking made him very difficult to understand.

In accord with a practice in better repute then than now, Warton did not always trouble to write his own sermons, and he preached the same ones repeatedly.[1] Mant had heard, however, that one university sermon had won him some praise and thought a Latin sermon of his, which he had seen, well-arranged, clear and in good Latin style. As a young man who had not yet taken his degree, when he had a sermon to prepare and deliver before the university and the Bishop, its preparation filled him with some dismay, and he sent his plan in some anxiety to his brother Joseph.

1. Chalmers had two sermons which Warton often preached, but neither was written by him; one was a printed sermon, the other, in an old hand, was thought to be his father's. Chalmers XVIII, 85, note.
Perhaps Warton sometimes indulged in the practice he satirized in the Journal of a Senior Fellow (Idler 33) 'After breakfast, transcribed half a sermon from Dr. Hickman. N.B. Never to transcribe any more from Calamy Mrs. Pilcocks, at my curacy, having a volume of that authour lying in her parlour window.'

who replied reassuringly, criticising the subject, making suggestions[1] and predicting a successful outcome.

If Warton was not distinguished as a preacher, he seems to have been eminently satisfactory to the members of his charge in those days of fox-hunting, port-drinking and even more negligent parsons. The people of Woodstock long remembered him with affectionate regard as one of the best curates who ever officiated there. Certainly he was not inaccessible to the members of his flock, and, if not over-curious as to their spiritual welfare, was not indifferent to their temporal interests, especially if they were poetically inclined. His lively and no doubt helpful interest in the poetizing of young John Bennet, a journeyman shoemaker, and son of the parish clerk at Woodstock, himself a Psalmodist of some local reputation in the Sternhold and Hopkins type so despised by Warton,[2] is a case in point. Warton encouraged that young man to such proficiency in his chosen field of versification that his volume of poems[3] received favourable notice in the Critical Review.[4]

In his later years Warton found his pastoral duties more and more a burden. He had never attempted to serve his charges during the long vacations, which he habitually spent with his brother at Winchester, and, as his other cares and interests became more absorbing, he came to depend entirely upon an auxiliary. Some unpublished letters to William Mavor, a young Scotch school-

1. Letters J.Warton to T.Warton. May 16 and 20, 1754. Wool 221 and 223. Wooll dated the second letter 1755, but that is obviously an error. It was evidently written just after the other; both refer to Joseph's removal from Tynesdale to Dunworth, which was made in 1754.
2. See infra p. 65-8.
3. Poems on Several Occasions. 1774.
4. Crit. Rev. June, 1774, XXXVII, 473.

master at Woodstock, who had taken orders, [illegible] served the parish of Middleton in Warton's stead for some time, and finally received from Warton the appointment of 'perpetual curate'.

Revd. Mr. Mayor

At the Academy

At Woodstock

Oxfordshire.

Dear Sir,

I beg the favour of you to continue your services for me at Middington till the second Sunday of February next inclusive. After that time, if I should want a perpetual Curate at Middington (which I believe will be the case, and of which I will give you due notice) I should wish to appoint <u>you</u> above all others. But I beg you to say nothing (at present) to the Family at Middington of my thoughts of a perpetual Curate. I shall see Mr. Gore very soon, which you may tell him; and that I have engaged you to attend the church to the 2d Sunday in February, as above. If Bennet could call next Saturday, with your Account up to last Sunday, I will return the money by Him.

Dear Sir, Your most obedient

T. Warton.

P.S. Please to tell Mr. Gore, that he would have seen me before, but that I have been hindered by Illness, and by business which could not be deferred.

Oxon. Nov. 26, 1787.

1. Probably the father of John Bennet the poet, who was parish clerk at Woodstock, Mavor's home and very near Middington.
2. Montague d. 18 f. 136.
3. Montagu d. 18 f. 136-7 b.

Revd Mr. Mason

At the Academy

Woodstock

Oxfordshire

Dear Sir,

The Curacy of Kiddington is your's for the next twelve-months, and most probably will be so for a much longer time, as I have no thought at present of ever serving it myself. I presume you have no objection to the old Terms of Half a Guinea a Sunday. For care of a Burial on week days, (a very rare Case) you will please to charge me a (Cro)wn each time. Fees for a Marriage, etc., are to be your own. You will please to begin on next Sunday. Whenever you wish to settle, that business shall immediately be done.

I am, Dear Sir, Your very faithful

humble friend

T. Warton.

This relinquishment of his pastoral work is the only sign Warton gave of decreasing vigour, if, indeed, this is to be regarded as a concession to his strength rather than to his ever-increasing interests. At any rate he was still full of projects and surrounded with uncomplete work at the time of his death.

1. Montagu d 18 f 135

Daniel Prince described his rooms at Oxford, literally strewn with manuscripts in small semblance of order, — the tables, chairs, window-seats and shelves being covered with papers, — in such a fashion as to show that the occupant was interrupted in the midst of his labours. Until his sixty-second year Thomas Warton's health had always been extremely vigorous. He was then, however, attacked by gout. There was nothing of the valetudinarian about Warton, and we may be sure it was with some impatience that he interrupted his work to go to Bath to recover his health. After a short time he returned to the college, more sanguine of his complete recovery than were his friends. His death came very suddenly. He spent the evening with a few companions in the Common-room, in livelier spirits than usual. Suddenly, however, between ten and eleven o'clock, he was seized with a paralytic stroke. He made but one attempt to speak, when he was thought to utter the name of his friend Price, and relapsed into unconsciousness, dying the next afternoon, about two, before his brother could arrive at his bedside. He died May 21, 1790, and was buried in the ante chapel of his college on the 27th, with the highest academical honours. An evidence of the esteem in which Thomas Warton was held by the whole university, as well as by the members of Trinity College, was the somewhat unusual honour that the funeral ceremony was attended, at their own request, by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Heads of Houses and the Proctors. The grave is marked by a plain marble slab with a simple Latin inscription.

As I have repeatedly said, Warton's master passion was

his enthusiastic love of the past. The celebration of the glories of the past was his contribution to romantic poetry, and the love of old poets was the inspiration of his verse. The re-editing of authors of classical antiquity and the arousing of new interest in classical literature was the object of his study as professor of poetry. The history and illustration of English literature of the past was the great work of his maturity. The examination of the architectural beauties of the past was the pursuit of his leisure. His life was almost wholly given up to the study of various objects of past days — literature, history, architecture, numismatics, diplomatics and topographical antiquities. Even his politics, his religion had a backward look; to both he gave the unreflecting loyalty that he conceived was due to institutions upon which was set the seal of a noble past.

But the limits of his interests were singularly narrow. So great was his versatility within his own limited field, so thorough his command of all its divisions, that one is at first inclined to lose sight of the extent of eighteenth century thought and interests in which Warton had no share. His field of interest was almost entirely literary, confined to poetry, criticism, history, with some digression to the hither side of antiquariam research. In an age of theological unrest, of desperate attempts to reclaim wavering faiths from the abyss of scepticism, of pietistic efforts to save the church from within by an access of spiritual grace, Warton maintained a calm, unreflecting allegiance to the established church of England without any indication that he was aware of the theological problems of his day. He was even more negligent of philosophical thought. The idealism of Berkeley,

the scepticism of Hume, were equally outside his ken; philosophy for him was comprised in Plato and Aristotle. To the great political movements of the day, in both their theoretical and practical aspects, he was likewise indifferent. Neither Rousseau's 'Social Contract' nor the thundering of the French Revolution, neither Paine's pamphlets and Burke's speeches nor the progress of the war in America aroused in him any apparent interest in comtemporary events. The Oxford don kept himself secure in his ivory tower from encroachments of political affairs.

In literature Warton's close study of the past and its relation to the present had given him a clearer vision into the future of literature, so that both his poetry and his criticism have a forward as well as a backward reach. They point the direction of future progress by showing the beauties of the despised past, the artificialities of the vaunted present and the way poetry was to be reclaimed by a return to the earlier traditions. The same love of the past applied in other fields was productive of quite different results. The line of progress in politics and religion did not lie in the direction of a return to mediaevalism. There was nothing romantic, nothing of revolt, in either Warton's religion or his politics, though they were both the result of his love of the past. They looked backward only, and had no prophetic vision of the future.

In his relations with the church Warton showed the same ardent, enthusiastic love and loyalty that he felt for the poets, the literature of the past. He gloried in its long and honourable history as an institution; he admired the dignity and solemnity

of its forms of worship; he enjoyed the beauty of its ritual, its prayers, its chants, its music. It satisfied the longings of his soul, and delighted his aesthetic sense. Warton was essentially a high-churchman; he would have rejected both the barrenness of the Methodist form of worship and its personal emotionalism in much the same way that he was shocked by the popular psalmody used in many churches,[1] and for reasons partly aesthetic. His adherence to his own church was not very firmly based on reason, but was pretty much a matter of feeling, of heritage, as has so often been said, of adherence to the past. His violent antipathy to the Puritans and Calvinists is more readily explained on aesthetic than on doctrinal grounds. He could never forgive the Puritans the ruinous havoc they wrought in the beautiful Gothic churches nor the check given to the progress of poetry by their narrow opposition to all literature not definitely religious.[2] All of his works abound in bitter references to 'Oliver's people',[3] 'Calvin's system of reformation',[4] 'Cromwell's intruders',[5] while his too freely expressed religious prejudice against the Puritan religion makes a real blemish in his study of Milton.

Very closely akin to his aesthetic appreciation of the forms of worship of the established church and the beauty of its choral service was his appreciation of Gothic art. This was most clearly evidenced in the enthusiasm for Gothic architecture which

1. See infra. 265-8
2. Observations. II. 279. History English Poetry. III, 461.
3. MS copy books I, 14.
4. Same III, 165.
5. Specimen of a Hist. of Oxfordshire, 2nd ed. p. 12.

has been already discussed. And it seems pretty certain that Warton carried the enjoyment to graphic art as well. The 'romantic hues' that tinged the gorgeous panes filled with 'brawny Prophets' in rich robes, the 'Saints .. clad in crimson's bright array', the 'Virgins meek, that wear the palmy crown of patient faith, and yet so fiercely frown', the 'Angels, that from clouds of gold recline, But boast no semblance to a race divine', all these created for Warton a magic spell and 'fond illusion' which combined with the solemn beauties of Gothic architecture to produce an impression upon Warton's romantic imagination which the universal truth and reason expressed by Reynolds's more classic art never succeeded in supplanting.[1] There seems to have been almost a vein of aesthetic sensibility in this modest Oxford don who, without being melancholy, delighted in 'cloyster's pale', the 'ruined abbey's moss-grown piles', and 'the sequester'd isles of the deep dome', who was overcome with emotion when the Gothic sculptures of New College altar, which had been walled up early in Elizabeth's reign, were displayed to the public,[2] and whose remark that 'taste and imagination make more antiquarians than the world is willing to allow' had probably a personal significance.

1. In 'Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's Painted Window at New College, Oxford (1782), Warton professed to have given over the fond illusions of a barbarous Gothic age for the classic beauties, but even the Artist doubted the sincerity of the 'recantation of such an old offender', wherefore he appreciated the more the beauty and compliment of the poem. Letter to T. Warton. May 13, 1782. Mant lxxx-i.

2. Daniel Prince, who sat near Warton on that occasion said 'Poor Tom Warton fetched such sighs as I could not have thought he could breathe'. Letter to Micholos July 2, 1789. Lit. Anec. III, 699.

In politics Warton's Toryism was, like that of the other great Gothicist whom he so much resembled, Sir Walter Scott, an unreflective, unromantic (in the sense of involving conscious revolt) adherence to institutions whose history was so long and so glorious. His political interest, such as it was, was involved in and determined by his absorbing interest in the past. By natural bent and by inheritance, his sympathies were Jacobite, though he took no part in the Jacobite cause, and acquiesced in honouring the unromantic Georges as the modern heirs of Alfred and of the Edwards whose splendid achievements the laureate was more apt to sing in his annual odes than the more prosaic Hanoverian merits. Modern political problems, like those of religion, did not come near him.

The second great passion of Warton's life, a corollary of the first, was his loyalty to Oxford, his alma mater in an unusually truesense. And Oxford set the limits of Warton's poetical interests as the love of the past determined his literary pursuits. Its little round of term-time and vacation, with the occasional diversion of an encaenia, was varied by the long vacations spent at Winchester, when most of the actual writing of his works was done, the summer tours to architectural ruins, and occasional very brief visits to London to arrange for the publication of his books, and to look in on his literary finds. As a result of this narrowing of interest, most of Warton's work has a decidedly academic flavour. While it never exactly reeks of the lamp, it is impregnated with the atmosphere in which it was produced. Warton's early poetry, both serious and humorous, is

strikingly academic, from the 'Triumph of Isis' to the 'Progress of Discontent' and the 'Panegyric on Oxford Ale'. In his later work this quality is less obtrusive, and shows itself only in the general determination of thought and interest.

To all the joys of university life we may be sure Warton was keenly alive. If his horizon for forty-seven years was bounded by the college walls, by the 'High', the 'Corn and the 'Broad', by Cherwell and Isis, and the adjacent parks and 'water-walks', he was master of every inch of that domain and knew all its possibilities of profit and pleasure. He did not devote himself exclusively to scholarly pursuits, however, especially during his first years at Oxford. In some of his early poetry is revealed the lighter side of his academic life, its robust pleasures, and its petty trials. Through its burlesque, its satire, its pure fun, we catch glimpses of the young poet, as enthusiastic in his sport as at his work, contributing his full share, we may be sure, to the afternoon's pleasure at Wolvercote, entering with zest into games of skittles, excursions on the river by wherry or cross-country gallops, and finishing the day's pleasures with a 'careless round in High-street', with calls at 'Jolly's for the casual draught'.[1] The 'Panegyric on Oxford Ale' is more than a burlesque in the manner of the 'Splendid Shilling'; it is the half serious, half humorous celebration of joys dear to the poet's heart. The poet's keen enjoyment of ale and tobacco is unmistakable in

'My sober evening let the tankard bless,

1. Ode to a Grizzle Wig.

'With toast embrown'd, and fragrant nutmeg fraught,
While the rich draught with oft-repeated whiffs
Tobacco mild improves. Divine repast!
Where no crude surfeit, or intemperate joys
Of lawless Bacchus reign; but o'er my soul
A calm Lethean creeps; in drowsy trance
Each thought subsides, and sweet oblivion wraps
My peaceful brain, as if the leaden rod
Of magic Morpheus o'er mine eyes had shed
Its opiate influence.

These lines surely were 'with honest love Of Ale divine inspir'd, and love of song.'[1]

But academic life had its drawbacks, too, and of these the young poet experienced his share. His description of

'vacant afternoons
When tatter'd stockings ask my mending hand
Not unexperienc'd'

moves our sympathy as 'the tedious toil Slides unregarded' comforted by draughts of 'all-pow'rful Ale'.

A day of reckoning too was inevitable after these robustious joys, when

'Generous Captain Jolly ticks no more'[2]
'Nor Sheppard, barbarous motion, longer gives
The wonted trust,'[3]

when

'Th' unpitying Bursar's cross-affixing hand
Blasts all my joys, and stops my glad career.'[3]

His Eden was sometimes entered, too, by a variety of serpents in the form of duns and he was obliged to take refuge with his Ale from the 'plaintive voice of Laundress shrill', the 'Barber

1. Panegyric on Oxford Ale.
2. The Oxford Newsman's Verses. For the Year 1767.
3. Panegyric on Oxford Ale.

spruce', the 'Taylor with obsequious bow', and the Groom 'with defying front and stern demeanour'.

Warton's poetical gift at times combined with his genial spirits to enliven somewhat the tedium of college life. Among the poetasters of the Bachelor's common room he started an amusing organization of the bachelors, which provided for the annual election, 'on Tuesday immediately after Mid-Lent Sunday', of a 'Lady Patroness' from among the Oxford 'Toasts' and a 'Poet Laureat' to sing her charms for the amusement of the other Batchelors while they consumed a bottle of wine 'from their publick Stock', and diverted themselves at the expense of their Laureate, who read his 'Verses before the Court' wearing 'a Chaplet of Laurel ... composed by the Common-Room Man after the manner of the Ancients'.[1] Warton himself served in the capacity of laureate for the first ten years of the club's existence, but his verses to Miss Jenny Cotes and Miss Molly Wilmot have never been thought worthy of being transferred from the red-morrocco-bound quarto, in which they were so carefully inscribed by the Common-Room Man to any edition of Warton's poems.[2] The club itself seems to have languished after Warton had deserted the Bachelors' for the Fellows' Common Room; its records became intermittent and finally ceased altogether.[3]

1. 'Statutes Ordered and Agreed upon by the Members of the Batchellors' Common Room'. This book, in which the minutes of the club were kept, was deposited in Trinity College Library in November, 1820.
2. They were printed in the Gentleman's Magazine. LXVI p.236.
3. In 1764. Brownlow North, half brother of Lord North, was poet laureate when he was at Trinity, 1760-2.

On the occasions of public celebrations at the university, Warton seems to have been called upon frequently to play a worthy part. For the Encaenia of 1751, he contributed an Ode for Music, which was performed at the Sheldonian Theatre. At the time of the great Encaenia in honour of peace in 1763, he was extremely busy. The celebration lasted several days, with eight speakers a day, and formal dinners at the various halls in honour of the distinguished guests. In addition to preparing his own speech for the occasion, Warton, as major domo, had charge of the details — 'the trouble I have had in preparation is infinite', he wrote his brother, 'but hope all will be repaid if it goes off well, as I doubt not.'[1]

Warton's influence in encouraging youthful genius of all sorts, but especially poets, by example and with advice was uninterrupted throughout his life. And there were a number of young poets who acknowledged him as their master. 'The magnetism of Tom Warton', said Sir Herbert Croft, 'draws many a youth into rhymes and loose stockings, who had better be thinking about prose and propriety; and so it is with his brother Joe. At school I remember we thought we must necessarily be fine fellows if we were but as absent and as dirty as the adelphi of poetry'.[2]

1. A good-natured but not very brilliant satire in imitation of earlier Terrae-Filii, published during the Encaenia, was popularly ascribed to Warton (Chas Godwyn to Mr. Hutchins, Aug. 2, 1763. Lit. Anec. VIII, 237), but it is probable that Warton, if he was connected with it at all, simply aided his friend Coleman, the real editor. (D.N.B. Coleman the elder.)

2. Croft to Mr. Nichols, May 10, 1786, Lit. Illus. V, 210. Croft was a member of New College, where he matriculated in 1771, and with which he was more or less connected for a considerable number of years, when engaged in the rather unsuccessful practice of law, later when he entered the church, and also when collecting materials for his dictionary.

Warton seems to have taken quite as lively an interest in his brother's pupils at Winchester, as in his own, so that his influence is sometimes traceable from a very early period. Among his youthful poetical protégés who achieved some distinction later were, — Thomas Russell, a Winchester lad who proceeded to New College, was one of Thomas Warton's defenders in the Gentleman's Magazine, and left at his death a number of sonnets and miscellaneous poems which were published with a dedication to Warton;[1] Henry Headley, 'a promising young man, but poetical from top to toe',[2] who published some meritorious poems at a very early age, before his attention was directed, by Warton, no doubt, to the field of early English poetry, of which he made a valuable study;[3] and, most important of all, as he furnishes a link between Warton and the nineteenth century sonnetteers, William Lisle Bowles, who fell under the influence of both the Wartons and who developed in his sonnets the feeling for nature which Thomas Warton had begun to turn to in his.

Warton has always been unjustly accused of neglecting his duties as a teacher. Mant lamented that he 'suffered the rostrum to grow cold' during his occupancy of the professorship

1. Thomas Russell (1788) Winchester 1777, New College 1780. Wrote two letters to the Gent. May signed "A. S." 1789. (see infra) 'Sonnets and Miscellaneous Poems by the late Thomas Russell Fellow of New College,' dedication to Warton by the editor Wm. Howley.
2. Sir Herbert Croft. Litt. Illus. V. 210.
3. Henry Headly (1765-1788) entered Trinity College in 1782. He published anonymously in 1785 a volume of early 'Fugitive Pieces', and reissued them the next year under his name. In 1787 he published his principal work 'Select Pieces of Ancient English Poetry'. 2 vols.

of history,[1] and Sidney Lee repeats Lord Eldon's account that 'poor Tom Warton' sent to his pupils at the beginning of every term 'to know whether they would wish to attend lecture that term,[2] quite as if those were at that time matters at all out of the ordinary, quite as if it were not the usual thing at Oxford in the eighteenth century that a professor should neglect his lectures, and a tutor his pupils, quite as if Warton's strongest claim to the regius professorship of modern poetry had not been that he was willing to deliver the lectures which George III was demanding, while his rival wished to hold the appointment as a sinecure. From what I have been able to show of his life, it certainly does not appear that, as some would have us think, Warton was indolent among the industrious. Quite the reverse seems to have been the case. As a teacher, Warton's merits are, however, only relative; measured by any absolute standard of course his practice is indefensible. More than one mention has been made of his hindrance with his work because of his pupils;[3] the names of but a few of them are known. Topham Beauclerk and Bennet Langton came a little after the interruption of the

1. W. L. Bowles (1762-2850) Winchester 1776. Trin. Coll. 1781 (Warton was then senior Fellow) 1789 'Fourteen Sonnets written chiefly at Picturesque Spots during a Journey.' Bowles also continued the Pope controversy 50 years after Joseph Warton's essay, in exactly the same strain. 'Essay on Pope.' 1806.

2. D.N.B. Warton. Eldon (John Scott) was a member of University College, 1766-1773.

3. Letter from Johnson previously quoted. He seems even, the next summer, to have been unable to leave for his usual vacation and a long planned business trip to London with his brother. Joseph Warton to Thomas Warton May 20, 1754. Wooll dates this letter 1755, but he is mistaken. See supra, p. 57. Wooll p. 233

Spenserian design[1] and formed a lasting friendship with their master. George Augustus North, the son of Lord North who was contemporary with Warton at Trinity, was, by his father's special request put in Warton's charge from 1774 to 1777, during which time he relinquished his other pupils.[2] Probably Bowles, who selected Trinity College on Thomas Warton's account, was a pupil of his. James Dallaway may not have been a pupil, but he was sufficiently acquainted with him to have observed his seal, and John Skinner, a pupil of Dr. Kett, had the honour of drinking some of his port at his table before matriculation,[3] certainly not an indication of indifference to the Trinity Students.

It is extremely hard to get at the personality of a man so wholly absorbed in his work as Warton was. And he was engaged in the most self-effacing kind of work, which he performed with practically complete self-detachment. His most striking quality probably was his objectivity. His mind was conspicuously normal, healthy, well poised, free from self-searching and introspection; he was disturbed by no perplexing problems of his relations to the universe, no conflict between mind and heart; he seems to have passed through no Sturm und Drang period. Warton felt no need of self-revelation, he kept no diary, nor poured out his soul in voluminous correspondence, — his letters, which were never very numerous are brief, natural and self-contained; his poetry, too, is never subjective, it is self-revealing only incidentally or in

1. 1756.
2. Mant lxxiv-lxxv.
3. Blakiston, History of Trinity. p.207.

a very general way. Warton's very emotions were objective, they centered in his enthusiastic love for the past, his college, his friends, and his family. This is not to say that he was cold, unresponsive, passionless; on the contrary, he frequently gave evidence of very strong feelings, of violent prejudices, of warm attachments, but he had always the control of them. He seems to have differed much in this respect from his brother Joseph, who was always very demonstrative. He frequently revealed the Penseroso mood, but it was impersonal, contemplative, as Milton intended, rather than subjective and gloomy as many of his imitators interpreted it. He was susceptible to beauty in nature, but it evoked from him no gushes of sentiment. He felt strongly the wonderful, the mystical beauties of Gothic art and architecture, but the emotions they aroused were manly and composed.

Thomas Warton never married. His early biographers say that he was never in love, and I find no reason to question the statement. It is true he twice spoke <u>in persona poetica</u> of a 'hopeless passion'[1] and midnight musing on some 'visionary fair',[2] but one is scarcely justified in basing a story of a real attachment on such slight hints, especially when his sister, who was considerably in his confidence, knew of no such passion.[3] Warton was devoted to his brother and sister, warm in his friendship, loyally attached to his college, to his church, absorbed in enthusiastic study of by-gone glories; those interests filled his

1. Sonnet VII.
2. Pleasures of Melancholy.
3. Mant cii.

life completely, and left no sense of lack.

Warton was said to have been 'eminently handsome' in his youth, and even later, when sedentary habits, port and good living had made his features heavy and his frame unwieldy, he was still 'remarkably well-looking'. But the Edition of the Probationary Odes described him as a 'little, thick, squat, red-faced man'.[1] Truth probably lies between the opinion of an admiring friend and the caricature of a satirist. His portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds[2] in his best manner hangs in the Common Room and reveals a countenance somewhat heavy and inert, the forehead wide and full; small, clear blue eyes, deep set under straight heavy brows that somehow hide their quiet force from the casual observer; a thin lipped mouth redeemed from coldness by expressive curves, the downward droop of one corner balanced by a humorous upward turn at the other; the bright, healthy colour of the well-fed Englishman, and much, too, of that stolidity which often conceals from the more nervous American a capacity for effective work. There is much more in the face and figure that is suggestive of the 'bon vivant' than the poet, the indolent Oxford don than the industrious scholar, the well-fed, idle clergyman than the enthusiastic antiquary. A comparison of his rugged feathures with his brother's almost feminine smoothness suggests the contrast between the two men. Joseph was painted in a full-bottomed wig and academic gown and band, Thomas in a bo (for once it is on straight) and his ordinary work jacket, none too tidily arranged. Urbanity and sensibility characterize one countenance,

1. Mant cv-cvi.
2. Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1784.

strength, the other.

Equal differences distinguished the two brothers in their social intercourse. Joseph was fond of socity, affable, communicative, and addition to any society; Thomas was awkward, shy, silent, except in the company of his intimates. In his earlier days Thomas Warton seems to have been much fonder of society than later, after his friendships and habits were formed. His natural shyness was increased by studious habits and years of pretty close application to work, and he came to limit his social intercourse more and more to those friends whose tastes were quite congenial with his own. He was particularly averse to the society of strangers, especially those of a literary turn.[1] Within his own college gates he was always very sociable, gracious in entertaining his friends, fond of lingering with the other Fellows over their evening cakes and ale in the common-room, but he could seldom be prevailed upon to dine with his friends in other colleges. The unanimous testimony [illegible] of those who knew him well was that his conversation was singularly fascinating, easy and lively, passing freely from serious to gay, seasoned with anecdote and pointed with wit, so that he was the life of those social gatherings in which he found himself thoroughly at home.[2]

Socially Thomas Warton fell on evil days. Although naturally genial and fond of congenial society, he was repelled by the formality and artificiality of the polite society of his day. Although he was a member of the Literary Club, and not infrequently went up to London, mostly on short business trips, he

1. Mant xcix.
2. Mant xcix.

is never mentioned in accounts of the meetings of the club which he can seldom have attended, and where he certainly would have been but an interested listener; and his friends invariably complained after his visits to town that they had not seen him.

Fanny Burney, at the height of her popularity, was invited to dine with both the Wartons and some others and gives in her journal the following unfavourable account of Thomas Warton: 'Mr. Tom Warton, the poetry histriographer, looks unformed in his manners, and awkward in his gestures. He joined not one word in the general talk, and, but for my father, who was his neighbour at dinner, and entered into a tête à tête conversation with him, he would never have opened his mouth after the removal of the second course.'[2] It is certain that Thomas Warton was not so fond of the society of young ladies as was his more susceptible brother; he probably had not read Miss Burney's lively but artificial novels, had no mind to indulge her in the compliments and deference to which she was accustomed, and felt that he could do little else than fall silent in a company of which she was the presiding genius.

On his holidays Warton indulged himself somewhat in society not altogether literary and formal, and delighted in it. He enjoyed the gracious hospitality of quondam Oxford friends, now country parsons, who were delighted to welcome a college Fellow of such

'discerning
Both in good liquor and good learning,'

1. Mme. d'Arblay: Diary and Letters, ed. 1891. I. 505. Jan. 13, 1783.

and to share with him the best cheer that their comfortable country livings afforded. On these 'rambles', too, he must have had an opportunity to indulge that fondness for 'low ' society, for drinking ale in common taverns, that so distressed his dignified fellow-dons, who had no hankering for society less formally polite than their college intercourse afforded. His geniality and friendliness on these occasions no doubt aroused an interest in his architectural researches that facilitated his access to the village church, the ruined castle or abbey of the neighborhood, brought to light any relics of antiquity that might be treasured in the village, and even disposed the vicar, parish boards or country squires to look with more favour on his suggestions to preserve their ancient treasures from further dilapidations.

Warton's visits to Winchester seem to have been attended with some social pleasure. The neighborhood was regularly used for regimental camps, which both the Wartons were very fond of visiting. Military sights, the music of fife and drum had a singular charm for both of them, and martial music was always sure to set Thomas's blood a-tingling. Consequently Warton's letters to Price during his vacations at Winchester have often some echo of military affairs, — he has been inspecting the regiments in camp at Portsmouth and Plymouth in the course of a long camping tour;[1] he has dined so often with Lord Berkley, head of the South-Gloucester, 'one of the most famous regiments in the line', whom he liked so well that he wished for a coalition of parties', — that, while he declared he had no 'presentiments' of

1. August 18, 1780. Mant lxxvii.

gout, he hopes he may escape it and 'have a few gallops with the Duke of Beaufort's dogs' at his return to Oxford;[1] he complains of the dulness of his study at Winchester 'without drumming and fifing';[2] or he is going to dine and drink Champagne today with Hans Stanley, which he fears, will throw him out a little.[3]

Besides these martial delights that attended the long annual visits at Winchester, Warton enjoyed with most undignified freedom the society of his brother's pupils. More than one amusing tale is told of his participation of their tasks and frolics. On one occasion, it is said, he overreached himself in preparing some lad's exercise for him, or the boy, in order to escape the flogging he was as apt to get for Thomas Warton's verses as for his own, gave a wrong report of the number of 'faults' he was used to making; the Doctor suspected the deception and administered punishment to the real author of the verses. Summoning the boy into his study after school, he sent also for Mr. Warton, and had the exercise read for his approval. 'Don't you think it worth half a crown?' asked the Doctor. Mr. Warton assented. 'Well then, you shall give the boy one.'[4] On another occasion, when he was joining with a group of the boys in a raid upon the buttery, the sharp-nosed Doctor descended upon them in wrath, hurrying his brother, with the rest, to the refuge of the nearest dark corner, only to be drawn forth in his turn by the dumb-founded Doctor.[4]

Even at Oxford Warton indulged his fondness for public sights and spectacles, though with some little circumspection,

1. Sept. 22, 1778. Mant lxxvi.
2. Sept. 18, 1784. Mant, lxxvii.
3. Sept. 16, 1777. Mant, lxxvi.
4. Mant, cv.

perhaps owing to the dignity of his position. His fellow dons were sufficiently shocked when he appeared on the river enjoying his pipe with the watermen, and it was related by his biographers as a great scandal that he attended an execution though disguised in the dress of a carter.[1] No doubt there was excitement in more than one college hall when the beating of a drum — a sound that always called Thomas Warton to the window — announced the meeting of the mysterious Jelly-bag society, and soon Warton would appear 'with his jelly-bag cap on', and hasten off to the secret place of meeting, perhaps, as some thought, at John Erle's in St. Thomas's parish, or 'more likely' according to our informant Daniel Prince, 'at Mrs. Yeoman's in Jesus College-lane'. Would that some letter-writing gossip had seen fit to tell more of the meetings of this mysterious society, who its other members were, and the object and nature of its meetings.[2]

Just what Warton's attitude toward the lower classes was, it is hard to determine. He kept his theories, if he had any, to himself. Perhaps he found a real enjoyment in the society of simple sons of toil — whose minds, if unrefined by social polish and education, were equally untouched by superficial learning and affectation — which was sometimes lacking in more polite circles. Perhaps he felt a brotherhood with them which some vociferous theorists and humanitarians have been unable to attain actually. His kinsman, Henry Boyle Lee, discribed him as a 'muscular Christian';[3] perhaps, in its best sense the term describes him, but one must not lose sight of the

1. Cornhill Magazine. XI, 742.
2. Mant cv.
3. June 7, 1790 Prince to Nichols. Lit. An. III, 702.

wholly unassuming and unpatronizing nature of his intercourse with his inferiors.

No one has been more successful than Thomas Warton in concealing from his right hand the doings of his left. Although a life-long friend, whose name Mant does not give, said that the most of his income was spent in silent acts of benevolence, even his brother did not know of them and was disappointed that, at his death, he left no legacy. The bookseller, Prince, had had his curiosity aroused on the subject of the disposal of his income which it was obvious he did not spend upon dress or diversions. Although he rallied Warton upon it, he could get no information from him, and, because his well-worn old clothes lay about his room in abundance, concluded he could not give.[1.]

Warton was not, however, without social intercourse among literary men like himself, scholars and poets. He numbered among his friends some of the most distinguished men of the day, both at Oxford and London, and was held by them in high esteem, though these friendships did not approach intimacy. Judging from the letter of his London friends and their complaints of his neglect, he might have spent considerable time in a round of pleasant visits. Spence, who had succeeded Warton's father as poetry professor at Oxford, besought the 'charity' of a visit in the course of his rambles;[2] Shenstone entertained him and Lord Donegal at the Leasowes, and received as a souvenir of the visit a copy of the 'Inscriptionerm';[3] Walpole was flattered by notice

1. Lit. Anec. III, 702.
2. Nov. 2, 1754. Spence to Warton. Wooll, 227.
3. 1758. Shenstone's Letters, III, 284.

of his work, and begged the favour of a visit at Strawberry Hill with every antiquarian inducement he could offer,[1] and a literary friendship and exchange of favours continued for some time. Warton's opinion and criticism were sought by many. Julius Mickle begged his approval of a play as the means of securing its acceptance by Garrick,[2] who confirmed Mickle's estimate of the weight of Warton's opinion;[3] Lord Lyttelton aspired to his approbation;[4] and Gerard Hamilton even consulted him in regard to a secretary to succeed Burke.[5] In the prosecution of his literary labours, as has been mentioned, he received generous and ready aid from Garrick, Gray, Percy, Bowle, Steevens, Farmer, and many others, and the Bishop of Gloucester and Dr. Balguy were more active in behalf of his candidacy for the professorship of history than he was himself. Warton was easily among the 'lions' of Oxford, so that Hannah More was delighted at the prospect of dining with him and Johnson, and 'whatever else is most learned and famous in the university;'[6] and two Cambridge gentlemen, intending to come to Oxford to have a look at 'the Lions', wrote beseechingly to Gough for letters — 'alas! we fear Tom Warton is at Winchester', to whom Farmer was to have given them a letter.[7]

There were few poets who were quite congenial with Warton and his romantic tastes. Although Warton's relations with

1. August 21, 1762. Wooll, 281-3.
2. Mickle to Warton Apr. 18, 1771. Wooll, 379.
3. Garrick to Warton Apr. 30, 1771. Wooll, 380.
4. Lyttleton to Joseph Warton Aug. 15, 1769. Wooll, 321.
5. Hamilton to Joseph Warton, Feb. 12, Apr. 6, 1765. Wooll 299 and 305.
6. 13 June 1783. Memoirs I, 261.
7. Nasmith and Tyson, Oct. 1772. Lit. Anec. VIII, 596-7.

Mason were cordial enough after their first poetical passage-at-arms,[1] Warton never held him in much esteem, and frequently described his facile but uninspired style as 'buck-ram'.[2] In Collins, Joseph Warton's school-fellow at Winchester, the Wartons had a friend of long standing and dear, whose poetical tastes also were congenial. In Collins's poetry they recognized those poetical qualities they so much admired, which they could exalt in criticism, if they could not emulate in their own verse. Thomas Warton frequently visited Collins at Chichester where they talked over literary plans, — Collins's history of the revival of learning and Warton's Spenser — turned over the pages of old authors they both loved in Collins's valuable library, where Warton was already collecting the material which was to appear in his history. A few years later, when Collins's health failed completely, he was visited and tenderly cared for by Warton, both at Oxford and at Chichester, after he had become too feeble for conversation, and but the wreck of the once admired friend.[3]

One of Thomas Warton's most interesting friendships was that with the 'great Cham of literature', Dr. Samuel Johnson. This friendship seems to have begun when the younger man sent his observations on the Fairy Queen to the great classical critic and commanded his admiration in spite of the romantic character

1. Warton's 'Triumph of Isis' was a reply to Mason's 'Isis'.
2. Mant xxii and Boswell's Johnson IV, 315.
3. Collins and Joseph Warton published their first odes in the same year, 1746, and the latter's were more successful at the time. Collins spent a month in Oxford in 1754, when his health was quite shattered. He died in 1759. His Ode on Popular Superstitions was published anonymously in 1788 with a dedication to the Wartons.

of his criticism. During that summer (1754), Johnson paid his first visit to Oxford since he had left the university more than twenty years before.[1] He stayed, on this visit, at Kettel Hall,[2] adjoining Trinity College, and Warton seems to have been his cicerone. Warton showed him the libraries,[3] took him on long walks into the country about Oxford, showed him some of the ruins in the vicinity — the abbies of Oseney and Renley, conversed with him on his favorite hobby, Gothic architecture, and communicated to him some of his own admiration for it and indignation at the havoc wrought by the reformation. Although Johnson came to Oxford at the beginning of the long vacation, when most people were leaving, he was so charmed with his visit and with Warton, that he vowed, if he came to live at Oxford, he would take up his abode at Trinity.[4] Warton immediately became interested in securing for his friend the degree of Master of Arts, to adorn the title-page of his dictionary — where it would be, as Wise represented, as great an honour to Oxford as to Johnson,[5] — and he found time from his Spenserian labours to procure subscriptions for his Shakespeare.[6]

The years 1754 and 1755 mark the height of their friendship, in which it would seem from his letters the older man made the advances, and Warton was no doubt flattered by his attention.

1. Johnon's residence at Pembroke became irregular after 1729, and his name was removed from the register 8 Oct. 1731.
2. Kettel Hall was acquired by Trinity during the last century, and is now occupied as a residence.
3. Warton said Johnson collected nothing in the libraries for his dictionary, his ostensible reason for coming to Oxford, although he stayed five weeks. Boswell I, 270.
4. Boswell, I, 272.
5. Wise to Warton, Dec. 14, 1754. Wooll, 228.
6. Mant, xxxvii.

Johnson could not but recognize the genius of the young scholar, though he did not at first realize that Warton's sturdy independence and romantic ideas were not to be brought under his dictatorship. He eagerly hoped to find in the friendship of the Wartons a solace for his melancholy and the closer union with life that he had lacked since the death of his wife.[1] But the Wartons, while they admired the great man as a lexicographer, a philosopher and an essayist,[2] could not but disagree with him in important matters of taste and critical judgment, and scorn the shallowness of his scholarship. There was moreover between them the gulf that separated pseudo-classicism and romanticism, and it was scarcely to be bridged by an exchange of visits and notes upon Shakespeare. Even their modes of life were different. Not being imbued with any high scholarly ideals, Johnson was disposed, having won a name for himself with his dictionary, to yield somewhat to natural indolence, to consume much of his time in the literary conversations for which he is so justly famous, and to produce literary work which was rather the fruit of general reading, philosophical reflection and personal opinion than of exact and laborious research. He greatfully accepted Warton's notes for his edition of Shakespeare[3] (which was so disappointing from that very lack of scholarship to reinforce his excellent judgment and taste in interpretation), and wrote him of detailed schemes for literary work

1. Johnson to T. Warton. Dec. 21, 1754 ... 'I have ever since seemed to myself broken off from mankind; a kind of solitary wanderer in the wild of life, without any direction, or fixed point of view: a gloomy gazer on a world to which I have little relation. Yet I would endeavour, by the help of you and your brother, to supply the want of closer union by friendship, etc. Boswell I, 277.
2. Want XXXIX.
3. Edition of Shakespeare's Plays, 1765. See Johnson's letters to Warton April 14, 8 June 1, 1758. Boswell I, 355.

involving research which he himself could never execute, and which Warton never chose to undertake.[1] About this time Warton contributed, also, to Johnson's paper, the Idler.[2] Johnson's letters frequently complain of Warton's neglect: he would come to Oxford at Easter, but Mr. Warton will not invite him;[3] the Wartons have been to town without visiting him;[4] his letters are neglected, and he playfully grumbles that 'Professors forget their friends'.[5] But there was no rupture between them; Warton promised more notes for the new edition of Shakespeare which Johnson was preparing with Steevens[6] and entertained Boswell and Johnson on their visit to Oxford in 1778.[7]

Although Warton and Johnson could and did meet on such common ground as their interest in Shakespeare, their real interests were wide apart, and probably only the infrequency of their intercourse deferred the inevitable rupture. It came when Johnson, with characteristic vigour, directed the force of his contempt and ridicule at Warton's most sensitive point — his poetry. Johnson could appreciate the benefits that might be derived from the study of antiquities in illuminating the history and progress of mankind,[8] but he had no sympathy with Warton's enthusiasm for the intrinsic beauties of old literature and art, nor with his attempt to

1. Johnson to Warton Oct. 27, 1757. Johnson's Letters. Hill ed. I. 73-4.
2. Nos. 33, 93, 96.
3. March 20, 1755. Boswell, I. 282-3.
4. Johnson to J. Warton. April 15, 1776. Johnson's Letters, I. 62.
5. Johnson to T. Warton. June 21, 1757. Boswell, I, 322.
6. Johnson to T. Warton June 23, 1770. Boswell, II, 114-5.
7. Boswell II, 446-9.
8. See Ramblers 83 and 154. Johnson's Works, Lynam ed. 1825, I. 366 and II, 155, and Idler 85, II, 633.

re-embody something of their spirit and charm in modern poetry; he saw in Warton's poetry only strangeness of language and form, or at best imitation of that which was not worth imitating. Although protesting that he still loved the fellow dearly for all he laughed at him, he parodied his verses thus —

'Wheresoe'er I turn my view,
All is strange yet nothing new:
Endless labour all along,
Endless labour to be wrong;
Phrase that Time has flung away,
Uncouth words in disarray,
Tick'd in antique ruff and bonnet,
Ode, and elegy, and sonnet.'[1]

That was too much. Warton could not hear ridicule,[2] and an estrangement resulted, not so complete but that Warton later became a member of the Literary Club, but such that their friendly personal relations and their correspondence were never resumed. Afterwards, in a melancholy mood, Johnson is said to have wept on recollecting their past friendship, saying that the Wartons had not called on him for the last four years, and that Tom Warton was the only man of genius whom he knew without a heart.[3]

The most of Warton's friends were scholars and antiquarians like himself, men to whom he was attracted by their interest in some of the many antiquarian subjects in which he delighted. Among them were Toup, the classical scholar, who helped him with Theocritus; Bowle, the translator of 'Don Quixote', to whom he was perhaps indebted for his knowledge of Spanish literature; Gough, the topographical and numismatical antiquary, who consulted

1. Boswell's Johnson III, 158-9.
2. Lit. Anec. III, 703.
3. Mant. xxxix.

him about the authenticity of the Winchester coin[1] and other antiquarian details; Wise, the archeologist of Ellsfield, and Radclivian librarian, whose valuable books and personal suggestions were always at Warton's service; Malone,[2] a member of the London circle, whose careful scholarship made him a congenial spirit, and whom Warton assisted with suggestions and practical help in the preparation of his scholarly edition of Shakespeare;[3] and Price, the Bodleian librarian, whom he induced to remove from Jesus to Trinity College,[4] and who became perhaps his most intimate and invaluable friend. To this devoted friend Warton wrote some of his most delightful letters and confided the progress of his principal works and the pleasures of his vacations. This industrious and capable but not very original man apparently enjoyed nothing more than performing little tasks of research for his friends, looking up manuscripts and books in the library, having copies of drawings made, etc. He was vastly flattered by Mr. Warton's friendship, and so grieved at his death that he could not be prevailed upon to speak of him, nor to contribute to his memoirs.[5]

The stocky, red-cheeked Oxford don joyously gave a lifetime of 'academic leisure' to his scholarly pursuits. The intervals of lectures and pupils, of pastoral duties and college exercises, Warton devoted to his private work, writing and reading in his own study at Trinity, or in the congenial Gothic atmosphere

1. Warton to Gough. May 28 and June 30, 177. Lit. Anec. VI,180.
2. For Warton's letters to Malone see Appendix B.
3. In 10 vols. 1790. Wherein 'Ritson alleged on 13 errors,and in 5 he was mistaken.' D.N.B.
4. Lit. Illus. VI, 474.
5. Lit. Anec. III, 702.

of Duke Humphrey's Ward, overlooking Exeter gardens. His days, though busy, must have been somewhat monotonous; and in their well ordered monotony grew slowly and quietly Warton's contributions to the knowledge of his day and ours. It was his custom, said Huntingford, who knew him well both at Oxford and at Winchester, to rise moderately early;[1] this enabled him to do a half day's work before the sleepy college awoke to life and gave him leisure to stroll about and chat with his friends, with every appearance of indolence and ease. He regularly spent some time each day in his favourite walks along the Cherwell, in meditation, and in enjoyment of the lovely scene. 'Under the mask of indolence' says the Biographical Dictionary, no man was more busy: his mind was ever on the wing in search of some literary prey.'[2]

Warton's vacations, too, were ordered with almost as strict regularity and devotion to his scholarly pursuits. Even upon his annual rambles he was upon the look-out for literary as well as architectural treasures, and he was sometimes rewarded with a 'find' that would make a modern bibliophile green with envy, — such as the early, perhaps the first, edition of Venus and Adonis 'bound up with many other small poets', including the first edition of (Daniel's) "Tragedia of Cleopatra",' into 'a Dutch built but dwarfish volume', which he 'picked up . . . in a petty shop at Salisbury, where books, bacon, red-herring and old iron were exposed to sale'.[3] Returning to Winchester, he might

1. Mant, xcvii.
2. Quoted by Mant, xcix.
3. Warton to Malone, Mar. 19, 1785. MSS. Additional 30378. no.2.

lament that the place was 'dull enough without drumming and fifing',[1] but he would settle down to the actual composition of his volumes. For it was his custom to make his notes as he could procure the books he needed, work out his plan — perhaps partly as he strolled along Cherwell's banks — and when all was ready he was able to write with considerable facility, so there was little need of revision and alteration.[2] A very large part of Warton's literary work, to judge from his letters, was thus done at Winchester, where he invariably spent his vacations. There he had ample leisure, and if not so favourable library facilities, at least the advantage of the sympathetic criticism of his most congenial friend, his brother. From Winchester he would return in the autumn to his college work, but preferably not 'till we have a bit of a common room[3] or when he must consult the Bodleian Library, to which he could trust his friend Price to admit him even 'behind the scenes' when it was closed for the Visitation.[4]

Warton's success in producing critical and historical work greatly in advance of his age is thus accounted for by his persistent and intelligent devotion to his work, and the constant enthusiasm which inspired it and which guided its operations. If, as Johnson said, Thomson saw everything in a poetical light through the medium of his favourite pursuit, so Warton saw all things in the light of his enthusiasm for the past; he subjected all things

1. Warton to Price, Sept. 18, 1784. Mant, lxxvii.
2. Letter of Thos. Park concerning a MS section of Warton's history which he had borrowed, Oct. 20, 1809. Bodleian MSS. Add. A 64, f 237.
3. Warton to Malone, Mar. 19, 1785. MSS. Additional 30378. no. 2.
4. Warton to Price, Sept. 30, 1774. Mant, lxxiv.

to a careful scrutiny to determine the relation to his consuming interest in antiquities chiefly literary. He seems to have been impressed very early by the enormous field open to the research of the scholar, and though at times somewhat confused by the very multiplicity of matter, and unable to distinguish unerringly the gold from the dross, he never abandonned this pursuit, nor abated his interest. Modern scholars, whose original research is now somewhat necessarily limited in extent because Warton and his successors canvassed the large field so widely, have frequently spoken with scorn and condescension of Warton's superficiality and inaccuracy in his treatment of a field too large for any one man; but let them conceive, if they will, the evergrowing delight and fascination of advancing into the almost unexplored wilderness of English literature from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, with no restrictions and no limitations save those of time and strength and the accessibility of material — rare black-letter texts, first editions, and unedited, even unread manuscripts —, in this scholar's paradise, — and, it must be added, with no guide, and in the face of eighteenth century prejudice and disapproval, — what modern scholar could have produced anything more valuable than the Observations on the Fairy Queen and the History of English Poetry; and how many would be (and are) proud to have done much less.

II

THE POETRY OF AN ANTIQUARY.

'Unclassic falsely stil'd.'

Warton first attempted to express his genius in poetry, but, both because the age in which he lived was unfavourable to poetry, and because, as Christopher North said, 'the gods had made him poetical, but not a poet', he turned later to criticism and history, where he won more enduring fame. He did not, however, wholly cease to write poetry which he somewhat diffidently submitted to pubic approval, and in which can be traced the development of his tastes and interests and the growth of his romanticism. Warton stood, in poetry as in criticism, just at the turn of the tide from a great pseudo-classical to a greater romantic age, and his relation with the new school was much closer than with the old. He was not wholly free, in his early tentative poetry ~~poetry~~ especially, from pseudo-classical influence; that was impossible in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is significant, however, that the earliest of his poems show strong romantic tendencies towards that enthusiasm for the past which marks his other work. Warton occupies an important place in the van of the Gothic revival in poetry as well as in other departments of literature.

In order to understand quite clearly Warton's importance in the romantic movement in poetry it is necessary to consider the influences upon his poetry, — his poetical inheritance, his education, and his poetical models. We speak quite properly of

Warton's romantic inheritance. His father, Thomas Warton senior, though not a gifted poet, had a taste for mediaevalism, which he transmitted to his sons. Almost twenty years before Percy[1] and Gray[2] were writing their runic odes, and even before their chief source of inspiration, Mallet's Histoire de Dannemarck,[3] was published, the senior Warton[4] had versified two Latin translations of a portion of a Northern song which Sir William Temple had quoted approvingly as containing a 'vein truly Poetical',[5] and he thus revived the runic element in poetry before northern mythology came to be studied seriously. The elder Warton was not so strikingly novel, but he was almost equally romantic in contributing a poem to the Spenserian revival.[6] While he did not imitate Milton in his own poetry, he is knowmto have been devoted to his work, including the minor poems, which contributed so largely to the new movement, and his sons claimed for him the merit of introducing the Juvenilia to Pope. In addition to this poetical inheritance, there seems to have been very early fostered in the sons of the first Thomas Warton a love for the past, not only for old ~~old~~ romances wherein the glorious deeds of chivalry were immortalized, but for the visible remains of former days, the feudal castles and Gothic churches of the middle ages. We can

1. Percy's 'Five Pieces of Runic Poetry' were published in 1763, and claimed to have been written in 1761.
2. Gray's runic odes appeared in 1768 but the 'Bard' was written in 1761. Gray's Wks. Ed. Gosse. I, 52.
3. Mallet's 'Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarck' was published in 1755.
4. Warton's poems were published posthumously in 1748. He died in 1745.
5. Essay of Heroic Virtue. Temple's Wks. Ed. 1720, I, 216
6. Philander, an Imitation of Spencer, on the Death of Mr. Levins. (in 1706).

discover one of the sources of Warton's great contribution to the romantic movement in poetry, the celebration of the Gothic, in the literary taste of the father.

A reviewer in the Critical Review said that 'Mr. Warton possessed a classic taste with a Gothic Muse'.[1] While we feel certain that Warton's taste was also Gothic, we grant that the critic was right in recognizing in Warton's poetry a strong classical as well as Gothic element. And by classical we understand more clearly no doubt than did the critic, the real as well as the pseudo-classical element. Thomas Warton's education was largely classical. He had an intimate acquaintance with both the Greek and the Latin poets, and was himself, not only in his youth when Latin verses were a large part of his school exercises, but even all through his life, the author of Latin poetry of no little merit. His first poetical attempt was in translation of an epigram of Martial;[2] one of his best humourous pieces[3] was the development of a Latin epigram of his own composition, while all his works abound in classical allusions not simply in the conventional fashion of all the pseudo-classical poets, but with the warmth and freshness of real intimacy with classical literature.

While I speak, and I think rightly, of Warton as a romantic poet, it cannot, of course, be expected that a novice whose first important poem was written the year following the death of Pope, should be to any large extent free from the characteristics of pseudo-classical verse — especially in his first

1. Critical Review 1794. Series 2. X, 20.
2. Verses written when Warton was a child.
3. The Progress of Discontent.

work. A strong love for the Gothic in every form, and for Spenser and Milton in particular, even unlimited enthusiasm, imagination and poetic genius cannot produce a complete revolution in poetry without a preliminary period of experimentation in which the poetry of the age plays a prominent part. And Warton's poetical genius was not, as we have seen, of that robust, vigorous sort. He was never strikingly original in his verse, except in his principal contribution — the Gothic element. It is most probable that at the time his first poems were written he had not the stimulus of his father's Spenserian and runic poetry, for he seems not to have known of their existence until after his death, and by that time at least the 'Pleasures of Melancholy' and the 'Ode to Morning' were written.

It will be necessary to remember, in connection with Warton's poetry, the poetical background of pseudo-classicism streaked with the first flushes of the dawn of romanticism against which his poems should be projected: — a pseudo-classicism with a well-established artificial poetic diction, from which the common and vulgar, the particular and concrete were alike rigidly excluded; with the heroic couplet — best represented by Pope's closed couplet — generally acknowledged as the acme of poetical achievement; with the subjects of poetry limited to moralizing, didacticism and satire, its appeal wholly to the reason, and its most prized embellishment wit; and with Pope securely enthroned as the pseudo-classical poet par excellence, who had, as Dr. Johnson said — voicing the opinion of his school — all the qualities that constitute genius, — invention, imagination and judgment, and whose power of versification was such that a thousand

years might elapse before another should appear who could equal it;[1] the beginnings of a formal reaction which, before 1750, had shown but a few signs of its coming glory: — the blank verse revival, begun in scarcely half serious imitation of Milton;[2] a new use of the octosyllabic couplet,[3] also in imitation of Milton, with an accompanying tendency to melancholy[4] — the characteristic of the grave-yard school — and an occasional inclination to regard nature with interest as a subject for poetry;[5] a Spenserian revival,[6] similar to the Miltonic revival, which contributed to the new feeling for nature, and added somewhat of a supernatural element, and an occasional deliberate appeal to the senses and to the imagination instead of to the reason;[7] and the beginning of

1. Johnson's Life of Pope. Johnson's Wks. Ed. Lynam, 1825. IV, 251-2.
2. Phillips: The Splendid Shilling, 1705, Cyder, 1706. Thomson: The Seasons, 1726-28-30. J. Warton: The Enthusiast, 1740. Dyer: Ruins of Rome, 1740. Young: Night Thoughts, 1742-5. Blair: The The Grave written in 1731, published in 1743. Akenside: Pleasures of Imagination, 1744. T. Warton: Pleasures of Melancholy, 1745.
3. Parnell: Hymn to Contentment, Night Piece on Death, about 1715-18; Dyer: Grongar Hill, and the Country Walk, 1726; Hamilton: Contemplation, 1739.
4. Parnell: Night-Piece on Death; Young: Night Thoughts; J. Warton: Ode on Solitude, 1746.
5. Lady Winchelsea: To a Nightengale, The Tree, Nocturnal Reverie, about 1713; Croxall: The Vision, 1715; Thomson: Seasons; Hamilton: Contemplation; Shenstone: Pastoral Ballad, 1743; Collins: Odes, 1746.
6. This list is very long. I mention here only the best — Shenstone: The Schoolmistress, 1737 and 1742; Thomson: Castle of Indolence, 1746. Both are half serious, half apologetic and humorous. See Phelps: The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement, chapter IV, The Spenserian Revival. p.47 ff.
7 Most conspicuous is the Castle of Indolence. Much earlier, Samuel Coxall, who contributed two 'Original Cantos' to the Spenserian revival, wrote two blank verse poems that abound in brilliant colouring, fresh description of nature, and even a suggestion of mediavalism in the 'Vision', in which ancient English kings, and the poets — Chaucer and Spenser, were included. The Vision was published in 1715, The Fair Circassian in 1720.

the revival of the sonnet.[1]

Warton's first poetry was experimental, imitative; it shows a confusion of pseudo-classicism, real classicism and romanticism. Much of it consists of poetical exercises in various sorts of metre and style, ranging from satires in the manner of Pope and of Swift to melancholy and nature poems under the influence of Milton, from ode to sonnet, and from a translation of Job in heroic couplet to imitations of Theocritus and Horace in the Miltonic fashion, and an inscription with something of the clarity of the Greek. In all of these Warton was evidently trying to find himself. Many of his first poems are extremely significant in showing how early certain aspects of Warton's romanticism were evidenced.

The first long poem, the 'Pleasures of Melancholy',[2] savours decidedly of Milton's minor poems in tone and diction, though the title and the blank verse form were obviously directly suggested by Akenside's much less romantic 'Pleasures of Imagination'. The poem follows the general plan of the Penseroso, being a description of the various pleasures which the man devoted to melancholy contemplation may enjoy, and it is full of personifications of abstractions, and Miltonic epithets and diction. A few typical passages will illustrate the influence of Milton: —

1. Gray's sonnet on the death of West was written in 1742, though published much later. Mason and Stillingfleet both wrote a few sonnets before 1750, and Edwards soon after. See Phelps, p. 45.
2. Written in 1745. Published anonymously in 1747.

the vocation

> 'Mother of musings, Contemplation sage,
> Whose grotto stands upon the topmost rock
> Of Teneriff';

Warton's wish to be granted such visions as

> 'Milton knew,
> When in abstracted thought he first conceiv'd
> All heav'n in tumult, and the Seraphim
> Come tow'ring, arm'd in adamant and gold';

and distinct references to particular poems, such as this to Comus,[1]

> — 'the dazzling spells
> Of wily Comus cheat th's unweeting eye
> With blear illusion, and persuade to drink
> That charmed cup, which Reason's image fair
> Unmoulds, and stamps the monster on the man,'

and this to Il Penseroso,[2]

> The taper'd choir, at the late hour of pray'r,
> Oft let me tread, while to th' according voice
> The many-sounding organ peals on high,
> The clear slow-dittied chaunt, or varied hymn,
> Till all my soul is bath'd in ecstasies,
> And lapp'd in Paradise.'

The poem is saturated with the melancholy of the whole grave-yard school of poets, and passages can be selected which seem to have been directly inspired by various of their poems. The young poet — Warton was seventeen when he wrote the 'Pleasures of Melancholy' — gives every evidence of having tried his hand in the style of each of them; but he combined the results into a whole with some characteristic additions of his own. And he may fairly be credited with having influenced pretty directly the greatest poem of the melancholy school, Gray's Elegy in a

1. Comos lines 154-5 and 587-70
2. Il Penseroso lines 161-6.

Country church-yard.

The following passage, which adds to the conventional melancholy of Warton's models a good deal of his own religious awe and feeling for ancient Gothic ruins, seems also to sound the keynote of the later poem.

'Beneath yon ruined abbey's moss-grown piles
Oft let me sit, at twilight hour of eve,
Where through some western window the pale moon
Pours her long-levell'd rule of streaming light;
While sullen sacred silence reigns around,
Save the lone screech-owl's note, who builds his bow'r
Amid the mould'ring caverns dark and damp,
Or the calm breeze, that rustles in the leaves
Of flaunting ivy, that with mantle green
Invests some wasted tow'r. Or let me tread
Its neighb'ring walk of pines, where mus'd of old
The cloyster'd brothers: thro' the gloomy void
That far extends beneath their ample arch
As on I pace, religious horror wraps
My soul in dread repose.'

The similarity of some lines in the 'Elegy' is too close to be dismissed as accidental, and the fact that Gray took up, again in the winter of 1749 — two years after 'The Pleasures of Melancholy' was published — the poem he had barely begun several years earlier,[1] increases the likelihood of his having had Warton's poem in mind as he finished his own.

'Now fades the glimmering landscape on the sight,
And all the air a solemn stillness holds,
. . . . . .
'Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tow'r
The mopeing owl does to the moon complain
Of such as, wand'ring near her secret bow'r,
Molest her ancient solitary reign.'

Among the lines which show Warton's debt to the early melancholy school the following are obviously imitative of Parnell

1. It was begun in the autumn of 1742, laid aside until 1749, finished the following summer, and published in 1751. Gray's Poems, Ed. Gosse. I, 72.

and Young, —

'But when the world
Is clad in Mid-night's raven-colour'd robe,
'Mid hollow charnel let me watch the flame
Of taper dim, shedding a livid glare
O'er the wan heaps; while airy voices talk
Along the glim'mring walls; or ghostly shape
At distance seen, invites with beck'ning hand
My lonesome steps, thro' the far-winding vaults.
Nor undelightful is the solemn noon
Of night, when haply wakeful from my couch
I start: lo, all is motionless around!
Roars not the rushing wind; the sons of men
And every beast in mute oblivion lie;
All nature's hush'd in silence and in sleep.
O then how fearful is it to reflect,
That thro' the still globe's awful solitude,
No being wakes but me!

The description of the morning rain-storm, no doubt suggested by Thomson, bears at the same time unmistakable evidence of Warton's close observation of rural scenes, and his ability to portray them in simple but clear outlines.

'Yet not ungrateful is the morn's approach,
When dropping wet she comes, and clad in clouds,
While thro' the damp air scowls the louring south,
Blackening the landscape's face, that grove and hill
In formless vapours undistinguish'd swim:
Th' afflicted songsters of the sadden'd groves
Hail not the sullen gloom; the waving elms
That, hoar thro' time, and rang'd in thick array,
Enclose with stately row some rural hall,
Are mute, nor echo with the clamors hoarse
Of rooks rejoicing on their airy boughs;
While to the shed the dripping poultry crowd,
A mournful train: secure the village-hind
Hangs o'er the crackling blaze, nor tempts the storm;
Fix'd in the' unfinish'd furrow rests the plough.'

The description of 'fall'n Persepolis' was certainly written with Dyer's 'Ruins of Rome' fresh in his memory, —

'Here columns heap'd on prostrate columns, torn
From their firm base, increase the mould'ring mass.
Far as the sight can pierce, appear the spoils
Of sunk magnificence! a blended scene
Of moles, fanes, arches, domes and palaces,
Where, with his brother Horror, Ruin sits.'

Extremely significant of Warton's taste, and of the advances he had made thus early in rejecting the old school for the coming one, is his preference of Spenser to Pope. For this taste he gave the most romantic reasons, the warmer passions aroused by the artless magic of the Fairy Queen than by the artificial brilliance of the Rape of the Lock.

> 'Thro' POPE'S soft song tho' all the Graces breath,
> And happiest art adorn his Attic page;
> Yet does my mind with sweeter transport glow,
> As at the root of mossy trunk reclin'd,
> In magic SPENSER'S wildly-warbled song
> I see deserted Una wander wide
> Thro' wasteful solitudes, and lurid heaths,
> Weary, forlorn; than when the fated fair
> Upon the bosom bright of silver Thames
> Launches in all the lustre of brocade,
> Amid the splendors of the laughing Sun.
> The gay description palls upon the sense,
> And coldly strikes the mind with feeble bliss.'

This early poem shows also some evidence of Warton's interest in native mythology. Contemplation is represented as having been found by a Druid

> 'Far in a hollow glade of Mona's woods,'

and carried to the 'close shelter of his oaken bow'r' where she

> — lov'd to lie
> Oft deeply list'ning to the rapid roar
> Of wood-hung Meinai, stream of Druids old.'

If Milton was largely responsible for the melancholy school of poetry which revelled in midnight scenes of gloom, with Warton at least, his influence was partly counterbalanced by Spenser's, directing attention to brighter and more joyous themes. Spenser's influence is apparent in some of Warton's descriptions of nature. 'Perhaps we meet with no poet', said Warton in the Observations on the Fairy Queen, 'who has more frequently, or more minutely at the same time, delineated the morning than

Spenser'.[1] Perhaps following his example, Warton's poetry is full of descriptions of the morning, which add to the imitation of such a model the author's evident familiarity with and admiration of such scenes. These descriptions from nature are a significant characteristic of Warton's poetry. The description of the rainy morning from the 'Pleasures of Melancholy' has been quoted. In the same year Warton wrote a short ode to Morning,[2] a simple description of a morning scene in the valley of the Cherwell which the poet must have seen more than once. There is, of course, much of artificial diction, but there is also genuine poetic feeling in the description: —

> 'Once more the vernal sun's ambrosial beams
> The fields as with a purple robe adorn:
> Cherwell, thy sedgy banks and glist'ring streams
> All laugh and sing at mild approach of morn;
> Thro' the deep groves I hear the chaunting birds,
> And thro' the clover'd vale the various-lowing herds.'

There are also descriptions of morning scenes in the Ode sent to a Friend on his leaving a favourite village in Hampshire,[3] and in the Ode on the Approach of Summer,[4] but the latter is wholly Miltonic in diction and feeling, and is rather a conventional description of 'Morn' in general, than the particular description of a well-known scene.

The 'Ode on the Approach of Summer' is in some respects the most important poem of Warton's early period. It is symptomatic of the tendency of poetry at that time. On the whole it is strongly Miltonic; some passages are little more than rearrange-

1. Observations II, 29.
2. Ode to Morning, written in 1745, published in 'The Student' in 1750.
3. Written in 1750, first published in 1777.
4. Published in 1753 in the 'Union'.

ments of Milton's thought and even diction. But here one must notice that Warton was somewhat truer to the spirit of his model than many imitators. His melancholy is not so obtrusive, and he retains much of Milton's real classicism, with which, of course, Warton was in close sympathy. The following passage, selected almost at random, shows at once the closeness of the imitation, Warton's devotion to the cult of solitude and his classicism.

'Or bear me to yon antique wood,
Dim temple of sage Solitude!
There within a nook most dark,
Where none my musing mood may mark,
Let me in many a whisper'd rite
The Genius old of Greece invite,
With that fair wreath my brows to bind,
Which for his chosen imps he twin'd,
Well nurtur'd in Pierian lore,
On clear Ilissus' laureate shore.'

Warton was, however, more interested in the mysteries of native superstition than in Grecian rites. Stirred by reading old romances he longed for 'more romantic scenes', for the

' — fairy bank, or magic lawn,
By Spenser's lavish pencil drawn:
Or bow'r in Vallombrosa's shade
By legendary pens pourtray'd.'

He long'd to visit

'The rugged vaults, and riven tow'rs
Of that proud castle's painted bow'rs,
Whence HARDYKNUTE, a baron bold,
In Scotland's martial days of old,
Decended from the stately feast,
Begirt with many a warrior guest,
To quell the pride of Norway's king,
With quiv'ring lance and twanging string.'

And when he continued

'Might I that holy legend find,
By fairies spelt in mystic rhymes,
To teach enquiring later times,
What open force, or secret guile,
Dash'd into dust the solemn pile,'

he had passed from the influence of Milton and Spenser into his own best loved province, the glories of the Gothic past.

In the 'Ode on the Approach of Summer' we find what appears to be Warton's poetical program. This poem was published in Warton's collection called the 'Union', where it was ascribed to a 'Gentleman of the University of Aberdeen'; and the preface hinted at a long poem by the same author to be published should this meet with favour. In this ode we seem to have a suggestion of what was to have been the nature of that 'noble and more important poem'. At least near its close when the poet has ensconsed himself in his ideal retreat, he promises to dedicate his days to poetry, poetry which shall sing of England's glorious past.

> 'Now let me fail, meantime, to raise
> The solemn song to Britain's praise:
> To spurn the shepherd's simple reeds,
> And paint heroic ancient deeds:
> To chant fam'd ARTHUR'S magic tale,
> And EDWARD, stern in sable mail;
> Or wand'ring BRUTUS' lawless doom,
> Or brave BONDUCA, scourge of Rome.'

These themes we shall find constantly recurring through Warton's poetry, finding their best expression in the odes on the Grave of King Arthus, and the Crusade.

There is some evidence that the second characteristic of Warton's poetry, the portraying of nature from actual observation already mentioned, was also a conscious poetical effort, even in this early work; Warton apparently recognized in rural scenes fit subjects for poetry, and subjects to which he felt his power somewhat adapted. This appears in the sonnet written at Winslade.[1] After describing the native charms of the village

1. Published in Dodsley's Collection in 1775.

' — thy beech-capt hills, with waving grain
Mantl'd, thy chequer'd views of wood and lawn,'

he referred to their poetical inspiration, better suited to his genius than more conventional themes —

'Her fairest landskips whence my Muse has drawn,
Too free with servile courtly phrase to fawn,
Too weak to try the buskin's stately strain.'

The influence of Spenser is especially marked in 'A Pastoral in the manner of Spenser'[1] and an 'Ode sent to Mr. Upton, on his edition of the Faerie Queene'.[2] The first is in the short stanza used by Spenser in the 'Shepherds Calendar','January' and 'December', and the diction is full of such archaisms as 'losell', 'yblent', 'beprent', 'eyrie', 'dight'.[3] The second is not imitative of Spenser, but an expression of Warton's admiration for his magic beauties, and his appreciation of Upton's efforts to make them intelligible to readers of his day.

'As oft, reclin'd on Cherwell's shelving shore,
I trac'd romantic Spenser's moral page,
And sooth'd my sorrows with the dulcet lore
Which Fancy fabled in her elfin age;

'Much would I grieve, that envious Time so soon
O'er the lov'd strain had cast his dim disguise;
As lowering clouds, in April's brightest noon,
Mar the pure splendors of the purple skies.

'Sage UPTON came, from every mystic tale
To chase the gloom that hung o'er fairy ground:
His wizard hand unlocks each guarded vale,
And opes each flowery forest's magic bound.'

1. From Theocritus, Idyll XX. Published in the Union, 1753.
2. Upton's edition was published in 1755, the ode first appeared in the collection of 1777.
3. Warton does not display in the poem a very accurate knowledge of Spenserian diction, for he is guilty of such forms as 'did deemen' and 'did depeinten'.

As I have said in another connection, Warton was more than once called upon to perform poetical service for his university, — to vindicate its honour, in the 'Triumph of Isis',[1] to contribute to the Oxford and Cambridge collections in honour of national events, and to celebrate University anniversaries. In these poems are mingled the elements we have found to be characteristic of his poetry. The 'Triumph of Isis' is largely pseudo-classical in its use of the heroic couplet form, its artificial diction — such as 'vernal bloom', 'oliv'd portal', 'pearly gate', the description of a ship as a 'floating pile', and of the composition of poetry as holding 'dalliance with the tuneful Nine', — and in its stereotyped classical allusions. Among the Miltonic personifications of abstractions and of places mingle the deities and heroes of classic myth; we meet with Freedom and Gratulation, Cam and Isis, Muse and Naiad, Tully, Cato and Eurus. But there is quite as much mediaevalism. Warton's characteristic love of the past appears in his celebration of ancient art, — the eulogy of Gothic architecture already quoted;[2] of old poets, —

> 'Tuning to knightly tale his British reeds,
> The genuine bards immortal Chaucer leads:
> His hoary head o'erlooks the gazing quire,
> And beams on all around celestial fire.'

and of early heroes whom tradition connected with the founding of the university, —

> ' — the sable-suited Prince ...
> With lilies crown'd, the spoils of bleeding France,

and the 'great father of the sacred band, The patriot King', who

1. Published anonymously in 1749. It was a reply to Mason's Isis: an Elegy 1748.
2. I. 18.

' ... by the bloom of this gay vale beguil'd,
That cheer'd with lively green the shaggy wild,
Hither of yore, forlorn forgotten maid,
The Muse in prattling infancy convey'd;
From Vandal rage the helpless virgin bore,
And fix'd her cradle on my friendly shore.'

There is nothing at all remarkable about Warton's contributions to the Oxford and Cambridge verses on public occasions. The Critical Review said of those on the death of George II[1] that Warton's were almost the only creditable poems in the collection,[2] but, though creditable, they are only distinguished by their superiority to the others in the collection. The 'Complaint of Cherwell',[3] contributed at that time, is somewhat interesting in that, although its personification and diction are of the pseudo-classical sort, its celebration of rural solitude is distinctly in the newer manner. It presents the claim of Warton's beloved Cherwell to be considered as a suitable subject for poetry, and compares her simple rustic charms and quiet solitudes with the more frequented and oft-sung beauties of Isis.[4]

All of Warton's humorous poetry was written in his early life, and most of it appeared in his collection of many such pieces by the wits of Oxford, the 'Oxford Sausage', published in 1764. With perhaps only one exception, and that the best of the group — the 'Panegyric on Oxford Ale', this verse belongs almost

1. 1761. Warton's verses were addressed 'to Mr. Secretary Pitt.'
2. Critical Review. Feb. 1761. XI, 1611.
3. Ascribed in that collection to John Chichester, brother of the Earl of Donegal, a gentleman Commoner of Trinity College.
4. Cherwell is a deep and swift but narrow stream which winds through the meadows west of Oxford. It is not so suited to boating until it unites with the Isis, a branch of the Thames, just below the city. The Isis is much more used for navigation. The favourite Oxford walks, Addison's and the Magdalen Water Walk and Mesopotamia are along the Cherwell.

wholly to the school of Pope and of Swift, though it is much more genial than most of the verse of those masters of satire. The earliest of them, the 'Progress of Discontent'[1] was considered by Dr. Warton the best imitation of Swift that had ever appeared.[2] It is a mild satire upon the career of many a young Englishman who, with discontented indolence rather than ambition, sought advancement through the university and church, and the story is told with considerable relish and spirit in vigorous Hudibrastic measure.

Probably the best of Warton's humorous pieces is the 'Panegyric on Oxford Ale',[3] a burlesque of Milton's epic style after the manner of Phillips's 'Splendid Shilling'. The blank verse is well managed, and the mock dignified humour well kept up throughout the poem. The models are unmistakable; there are direct allusions to both, and the poem concludes with comparing the unhappy state of the poet whose supply of ale is cut off with Adam shut out from Paradise, a grief he professes to share in common with his master, the author of the Splendid Shilling.

> 'Thus ADAM, exil'd from the beauteous scenes
> Of Eden, griev'd, no more in fragrant bow'r
> On fruits divine to feast, fresh shade and vale
> No more to visit, or vine-mantled grot;
> . . . . . .
> Thus too the matchless bard, whose lay resounds
> The SPLENDID SHILLINGS praise, in nightly gloom
> Of lonesome garret, pin'd for cheerful ALE;

1. Written in 1746, published in the Student in 1750, and revised for the Oxford Sausage, 1764. I have already quoted somewhat copiously from this poem. I, 12-3
2. J. Warton's edition of Pope. II, 302.
3. Written in 1748, published in the Student in 1750, and in the Oxford Sausage, 1764.

Whose steps in verse Miltonic I pursue,
Mean follower: like him with honest love
Of ALE divine inspir'd, and love of song.
But long may bounteous Heav'n with watchful care
Avert his hapless lot! Enough for me
That burning with congenial flame I dar'd
His guiding steps at distance to pursue,
And sing his favorite theme in kindred strain.'

'Newmarket', a somewhat heavy Popeian satire, was published anonymously as a pamphlet in 1751.[1] The subject of the satire is the gambling on the Newmarket races; the form is the closed couplet, with balance, antithesis, and adroit turn of the thought at the end of the couplet.

The not very amusing dialogue between the 'Phaeton and the One-Horse Chair'[2] is apparently, as the reviewer in the Monthly Review[3] first observed, an imitation of Smart's fable of the 'Bag-Wig and the Tobacco-Pipe'.[4] More clever is the little 'Ode to a Grizzle Wig'[5] in which Warton, while comparing the relative merits of bob and grizzle, frequently burlesqued the manner of Milton's minor poems with considerable relish.

'All hail, ye CURLS, that rang'd in reverend row,
With snowy pomp my conscious shoulders hide!
That fall beneath in venerable flow
And crown my brows above with feathery pride!

But thou, farewell, my BOB! whose thin-wove thatch
Was stor'd with quips and cranks, and wanton wiles,
That love to live within the one-curl'd Scratch,
With fun, and all the family of Smiles.'

The 'Castle Barber's Soliloquy'[6] is again quite in the manner of

1. Reprinted in the Oxford Sausage in 1764.
2. Written in 1763 (Warton's note on the poem, see Oxford Sausage ed. 1821, p. 32) published in the Oxford Sausage.
3. Monthly Review, 1793. XCI, 275.
4. Smart: Poems on Several Occasions. London 1752, p. 211.
5. Printed in the Oxford Sausage.
6. 'Written in the late War' 1760. Printed in the Oxford Sausage.

Swift, while the 'Prologue on the Old Winchester Playhouse over the Butcher's Shambles'[1] is in more vigorous couplets than those of 'Newmarket', and is packed with alliteration and absurd antitheses. These poems and the 'Oxford Newman's Verses' were evidently dashed off with more enjoyment of the fun than poetry, and their chief merit lies in the fact that they show the poet in his most robust and genial mood.

Mant included among Warton's humorous pieces an 'Epistle from Thomas Hearne, Antiquary, to the Author of the Companion to the Oxford Guide',[2] and on that authority it has been pretty generaly accepted as written by Thomas Warton.[3] But surely there were many who were loath to believe that Warton directed this clever squib at himself when the author of the 'Companion' and the edition of the 'Sausage' were so generally guessed to be the same, and who are glad to find among Joseph Warton's letters published by Wooll a letter to Thomas in which he calls that poem his own.[4] The poem is a delightful bit of fun, purporting to portray Hearne's resentment at the disrespect with which he and other antiquaries were treated in the Companion. He addresses Warton as

'Friend of the moss-grown spire and crumbling arch',

and concludes with a curse upon his antiquarian studies —

' ... may curses every search attend
That seems inviting! May'st thou pore in vain
For dubious door-ways! May revengeful moths

1. Added to the collected edition of Warton's poems prepared by him for the press but published in 1791.
2. Printed in the Oxford Sausage 1764.
3. It is quoted among Warton's antiquarian pieces by Beers. English Romanticism in the 18th century, pp. 201-2.
4. Letter to Thos. Warton July 5, 1769, Wooll p. 348

Thy ledgers eat! May chronologic spouts
Retain no cypher legible! May crypts
Lurk undiscern'd! Nor may'st thou spell the names
Of saints in storied windows! Nor the genuine site
Of Abbot's pantries! And may Godstowe veil,
Deep from thy eyes profane, her Gothic charms!'

The poems that belong to Warton's later period, that is, those that appeared for the first time in the collected edition of 1777 and were presumably written after the publication of the 'Oxford Sausage', and his laureate odes and other occasional later poetry, show, of course, a considerable advance over his earlier work in the direction of the new movement. There is very much less imitation of Pope and Swift, of Milton, and even of the early romanticists, Thomson, Parnell, Young; and there is very much more of Warton's peculiar gifts, which had appeared in the earliest work, — the love of the past and the love of nature. These poems show somewhat the influence of contemporary romanticists, particularly of Gray and Collins. One of the most interesting and significant of these poems is the 'Ode written at Vale — Royal Abbey in Cheshire', a poem in which the influence of Gray is strong, from the form, the elegiac quatrain, to the atmosphere of pensive melancholy which pervades it. The poem begins,

'As evening slowly spreads his mantle hoar,
No ruder sounds the bounded valley fill,
Than the faint din, from yonder sedgy shore,
Of rushing waters, and the murmuring mill.'

and continues with a scene not unlike that with which the elegy opens. But there is an important difference between Gray's poem and Warton's. The former is classical and universal in its application and appeal, the scene might be any village church yard; the conventional moralizing is exactly the sort in which the eighteenth century delighted, and which makes an almost constant appeal

both because of its truth and because of the perfect form which Gray gave to it. Warton, however, was describing a particular ruined abbey, and it called up in his mind — not at all given, as we have seen, to abstract thought, moralization or philosophizing — definite visions of the past in which he was so much interested. He delighted to reconstruct the ruin, to recall its departed glories, dwelling on the themes so dear to him, its architecture, its learning, its minstrelsy and its romance.

'Here ancient Art her daedal fancies play'd
In the quaint mazes of the crisped roof;
In mellow glooms the speaking pane array'd,
And rang'd the cluster'd column, massy proof.

Here Learning, guarded fraom a barbarous age,
Hover'd awhile, nor dar'd attempt the day;
But patient trac'd upon the pictur'd page
The holy legend, or heroic lay.

Hither the solitary minstrel came
An honour'd guest, while the grim evening sky
Hung lowering, and around the social flame
Tuh'd his bold harp to tales of chivalry.'

The 'Monody, written near Stratford upon Avon' combines the two elements of antiquity and nature. Like every visitor to the Avon, Warton was impressed with the loveliness of the scene, and then with a sense of the 'bard divine' who

'Here first, at Fancy's fairy-circled shrine,
Of daisies pied his infant offering made';

and finally yielded himself to a vision of the 'awful shapes of warriors and of kings' whom he had called to life.

In two of Warton's best and most characteristic odes, he concerned himself wholly with the past. These are his most romantic poems on the side of mediaevalism, the 'Crusade', and the 'Grave of King Arthur'. The first purports to be the song that Richard Coeur de Leon and Blondel de Nesle composed together, by

which the minstrel was able to discover his master in prison. The poem has a fine swing, from the beginning of the song —

'Syrian virgins wail and weep,
English Richard ploughs the deep!'

to the defiant close —

'We bid those spectre-shapes avaunt,
Ashtaroth, and Termagaunt!
With many a demon, pale of hue,
Doom'd to drink the bitter dew
That drops from Macon's sooty tree,
Mid the dread grove of ebony.
Nor magic charms, nor fiends of hell,
The christian's holy courage quell.
  Salem, in ancient majesty
Arise, and lift thee to the sky!
Soon on thy battlements divine
Shall wave the badge of Constantine.
Ye Barons, to the sun unfold
Our Cross with crimson wove and gold!'

The favourite ode will always be the 'Grave of King Arthur', in which a story of the national British hero of romance is skilfully set into a framework of mediaeval splendor. Warton explained in a short preface that the story was adopted from the Chronicle of Glastonbury, and dealt with a Welsh tradition that Arthur was not carried away to Avalon after the battle of Camlan but was received by monks, and burried before the high altar in Glastonbury Cathedral. This story was told to Henry II by Welsh bards at Cilgarran castle, and induced him to go to the Abbey, find the grave, and, as the ode has it, establish a chantry at its shrine. The description of the feast with which the poem opens is gorgeously romantic, and splendidly suggests the great mediaevalist of the next century, Sir Walter Scott, who was foreshadowed in several respects by this first mediaeval enthusiast.

'STATELY the feast, and high the cheer:
Girt with many an armed peer,
And canopied with golden pall,
Amid CILGARRAN'S castle hall,
Sublime in formidable state,
And warlike splendour, Henry sate;
Prepar'd to stain the briny flood
Of Shannon's lakes with rebel blood.
  Illumining the vaulted roof,
A thousand torches flam'd aloof:
From massy cups, with golden gleam
Sparkled the red metheglin's stream:
To grace the gorgeous festival,
Along the lofty-window'd hall,
The storied tapesty was hung:
With minstrelsy the rafters rung
Of harps, that with reflected light
From the proud gallery glitter'd bright:
While gifted bards, a rival throng,
(From distant Mona, nurse of song,
From Teivi, fring'd with umbrage brown,
From Elvy's vale, and Cader's crown,
From many a shaggy precipice
That shades Ierne's hoarse abyss,
And many a sunless solitude
Of Radnor's inmost mountains rude,)
To crown the banquet's solemn close,
Themes of British glory chose.'

Equally romantic, and with the mystic charm of an earlier age is the minstrel's song of the death of Arthur, —

'O'er Cornwall's cliffs the tempest roar'd,
High the screaming sea-mew soar'd;
On Tintaggel's topmost tower
Darksome fell the sleety shower;
Round the rough castle shrilly sung
The whirling blast, and wildly flung
On each tall rampart's thundering side
The surges of the tumbling tide:
When Arthur rang'd his red-cross ranks
On conscious Camlan's crimson'd banks:
By Mordred's faithless guile decreed
Beneath a Saxon spear to bleed!
Yet in vain a paynim foe
Arm'd with fate the mighty blow;
For when he fell, an elfin queen,
All in secret, and unseen,
O'er the fainting hero threw
Her mantle of ambrosial blue;
And bade her spirits bear him far,
In Merlin's agate-axled car,
To her green isle's enamell'd steep,
Far in the navel of the deep.'

Three of Warton's sonnets also draw their subjects from his love for the past, and show the same sort of mediaevalism. Two of them were inspired by relics of the very early history of England, one by King Arthur's Round Table, hanging in the old Norman castle at Winchester, and the other by the mysterious monument at Stonehenge on Salisbury plain, whose 'wondrous origine' is unknown. The first, Warton lamented, was falling a prey 'To the slow vengance of the wisard Time', but the heroes who formerly gathered round it would not be forgotten since

> ' __ Spenser's page, that chants in verse sublime
> Those Chiefs, shall live, unconscious of decay.'

The most interesting of Warton's sonnets, if not the most interesting of all his poems because it perhaps more clearly than any other reveals the man Warton, is the one 'Written in a Blank Leaf of Dugdale's Monasticon'.[1] It has for its subject the delightful, the aesthetic side of antiquarian study. That aspect made to Warton an appeal quite as strong as the scholarly one, and it was an influence as potent in poetry and art, as the other was in history and scholarship. The antiquary has never had a better defense and justification than the following: —

> 'Deen not, devoid of elegance, the Sage,
> By Fancy's genuine feelings unbeguid'd,
> Of painful pedantry the poring child;
> Who turns, of these proud domes, th' historic page,
> Now sunk by Time, and Henry's fiecer rage.
> Think'st thou the warbling Muses never smil'd
> On his lone hours? Ingenuous views engage
> His thoughts, on themes, unclassic falsely styl'd,
> Intent. While cloister'd Piety displays

1. This work was frequently consulted by Warton in the preparation of his history, see Appendix C. There are references to it in the MS. copy-book also. Wordsworth has a sonnet 'Written in a Blank Leaf in Macpherson's Ossian'.

Her mouldering roll, the piercing eye explores
New manners, and the pomp of elder days,
Whence culls the pensive bard his pictur'd stores.
Nor rough, nor barren, are the winding ways,
Of hoar Antiquity, but strown with flowers.'

This sonnet and the two last-mentioned odes show the high water mark in Warton's poetry of that mediaeval romanticism which was one of his contributions to poetry, as it also characterized his work in other fields. The same note is struck rather frequently, but never so forcibly in his last poems, the laureate odes. Aside from this element the odes have very little merit indeed. They are dignified, conventional, but often perfunctory.

Warton was not interested in contemporary events, and George III made no great imaginative appeal; so Warton, like many another laureate, took refuge in singing the glories of English heroes of the past, of Alfred, and the British legacy of liberty; of William Conqueror, and the barons who obtained Magna Charta; of Edward and the victories in France; and in lauding his great predecessors, the laureates of England,[1] — Chaucer who

'Fir'd with the gift ... chang'd to sounds sublime
His Norman minstrely's discordant chime';

Spenser who was

'Won from the shepherd's simple meed,
The whispers wild of Mulla's reed,'

and who

' — wak'd his lofty lay,
To grace Eliza's golden sway';

and 'matchless Dryden' who

1. Joseph Warton was one of the first poets to refer appreciatively to the early English poets. See his poem 'The Enthusiast' written in 1740. Wooll, p. 111-124.

' — came
To light the Muse's clearer fame;
To lofty numbers grace to lend,
And strength with melody to blend.'

'Peter Pindar',[1] whose coarse but frequently humorous satires were more successful than his serious verse, ridiculed Warton's descriptions of ancient days, and his neglect of the ostensible subjects of his odes. In 'Ode upon Ode' etc.[2] he parodied Warton's celebration of the past, —

'Poets (quoth tuneful TOM) in ancient times,
Delighted all the country with their rhymes;
Sung Knights and barbed steeds with valour big:
Knights who encounter'd witches — murder'd wizards,
Flogged Pagans till they grumbled in their gizzards;
Rogues! with no more religion than a pig:

Great (says the Laureat) were the Poet's puffings
On idle daring red-cross raggamuffins,
Who, for their childishness, deserv'd a birch:
Quoth TOM, a worthier subject now, thank God!
Inspires the lofty Dealer in the Ode,
Than blackguards battling for old Mother Church.

The Poet moulds his harp to manners mild,
Quoth TOM — to Monarchs, who, with rapture mild,
Hear their own praise with mouths of gaping wonder,
And catch each crotchet of the Birth-day thunder.'[2]

In 'An Expostulatory Epistle from Brother Peter to Brother Tom'[3] he derided Warton's neglect of the present, —

'SLIFE! Thomas, what hath swallow'd all the praise?
Of regal virtues not the slightest mention!
Strung, like mock pearl, so lately on thy lays!
Tell me, a bankrupt, TOM, is thy invention?

'How couldst thou so thy PATRON'S fame forget,
As not to pay, of praise, the annual debt?
WHITEHEAD and CIBBER, all the Laureat throng,

1. The pseudonym of John Wolcot. Wolcot's verse was directed at the private life of the king, to which the ridicule of Warton was only incidental.
2. Or a Peep at St. James's; or New Year's Day; or What You Will. 1787. The Works of Peter Pindar. 3 vols. London, 1794. I, 382-4.
3. 1788. Pindar's Wks. II, 61.

To FAME'S fair Temple, twice a year, presented
Some royal virtues, real or invented,
In all the grave sublimity of song.'

And in his 'Advice to a future Laureat',[1] written after the death of Warton, he pointed with some discernment, to his learning as the cause of his ill success as a laureate.

'TOM prov'd unequal to the Laureat's place;
Luckless, he warbled with an Attic grace:
The language was not understood at Court,
Where bow and curt'sy, grin and shrug, resort;
Sorrow for sickness, joy for health, so civil;
And love, that wish'd each other to the devil!

'TOM was a scholar — luckless wight!
Lodg'd with old manners in a musty college;
He knew not that a Palace hated knowledge,
And deem'd it pedantry to spell and write.
TOM heard of royal libraries, indeed,
And, weakly, fancied that the books were read'.

'Peter Pindar' was not the only satirist of the Laureate odes. Edward Forster, a merchant with considerable interest in literature sent the following parody, or 'abridgment', of the New Year's Ode for 1788 to Gough, —

'Old Windsor still stands on a hill,
And smiles amid her martial airs,
May Englishmen still cock their hats,
And Frenchment humbly pull off theirs.'[2]

Warton's later odes which have aspects of nature for their subject show that he was still somewhat under the influence of Milton. It is pretty evident, however, that he was painting directly from nature, although he justified his selection of simple subjects from the practice of his favourite poets, Milton and Spenser.[3] The following short passage shows the closeness of Warton's observation of simple details which the classicist would

1. 'Pindar's Wks. II, 453-4.
2. Letter to Gough, Jan 8, 1788. Nichols's Literary Illustrations, V, 289.
3. From the Ode on the First of April.

have thought beneath the poet's notice, —

'Scant along the ridgy land
The beans their new born ranks expand:
The fresh-turn'd soil with tender blades
Thinly the sprouting barley shades:
Fringing the forest's devious edge,
Half rob'd appears the hawthorn hedge;
Or to the distant eye displays
Weakly green its budding sprays.'[1]

A second, which parallels the thought of a passage from Paradise Lost,[2] is extremely suggestive, as it shows how far Warton had advanced away from Milton and towards Wordsworth. The language is still Miltonic but the fullness and vividness of the particular details of the picture strongely suggest the poets of the next century,

'Frought with a transient, frozen shower,
If a cloud should haply lower,
Sailing o'er the landscape dark,
Mute on a sudden is the lark;
But when gleams the sun again
O'er the pearl-besprinkled plain,
And from behind his watery vail
Looks through the thin descending hail;
She mounts, and, lessening to the sight,
Salutes the blithe return of light,
And high her tuneful track pursues
Mid the dim rainbow's scatter'd hues.'[1]

The modernity of this nature poetry of Warton's in which the rustic delights of simple life are celebrated, is attested by the fact that his 'Hamlet, an ode written in Wichwood Forest' was republished in 1859 with fourteen etchings by Bircket Foster, a

1. From the Ode on the First of April.
2. Book II, lines 488-95.
'As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the north wind sleeps, o'erspread
Heaven's cheerful face, the low'ring element
Scowls o'er the darken'd landscape snow, or show'r;
If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
Extend his ev'ning beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.'

popular engraver who made illustrations for editions of Milton, Goldsmith, Scott and Wordsworth,[1] and that a second edition was called for in 1876. For all its 'softness' and 'sweetness', the poem is not one of Warton's best efforts.

An interesting commentary upon Warton's contributions to the cult of solitude is afforded by his 'Ode to Solitude, at an Inn'. The poem was written May 16, 1769,[2] at some village inn between Thetford and Ely[3] when Warton was on one of his annual holiday tours, and when, evidently, he had failed to find any congenial companionship. In the dismal atmosphere of a lonely country inn solitude was quite another matter than when beguiled by

> ' — magic shapes and visions airy
> Beckon'd from the land of Fairy.'

Then he had found loneliness to be 'Best and true society', but now he could only say, —

> 'Here all inelegant and rude
> Thy presence is, sweet Solitude.'

In Warton's collected poems appeared nine sonnets, of which two had been published previously.[4] The use of this form is extremely significant at this time, when the sonnet revival was just beginning. Before Warton's sonnets appeared, Mason, Stillingfleet and Edwards had written each a few sonnets,[5] so that

1. Foster's best work was done in portraying rustic scenes. See D. N. B.
2. Mant, I, 140.
3. MS. Copy-Book II, 33.
4. The Sonnet written at Winslade was written in 1750 and published in Dodley's Collection in 1775. The Sonnet on Bathing is not starred as new in the edition of 1777.
5. Mason had written about five before that time, which he dated from 1748, but they were not published before 1798. Mason's Works 4 vols. London, 1811. I, 121-124 and dedicatory sonnet. Gray's Sonnet on the Death of West was probably the first. It was written in 1742 but not printed until after Gray's death. Gray's

the whole credit for its revival cannot be claimed for any one of them. But certainly Warton looms larger than any of the rest, both because of his greater influence and because of the superior merit of his sonnets. As the friend and tutor of William Lisle Bowles Warton's influence upon his poetry was considerable, and was perhaps by him carried on to the major poets of the next century, to Coleridge[1] and possibly even to Wordsworth.

Besides the three mediaeval sonnets that have been mentioned, Warton wrote two that are equally reactionary in the direction of the return to nature. One of these is the poem on which the fiction of Warton's disappointment in love has been based. It is a study of nature and mood, for which the poet assumed the contrast between the hopeful and the disappointed lover. It is apparent that at least the changeful Surrey landscape was real, whatever the state of the feelings in which it was viewed.

'While summer-suns o'er the gay prospect play'd,
Through Surrey's verdant scenes, where Epsom spreads
Mid intermingling elms her flowery meads,
And Hascombe's hill, in towering groves array'd,
Rear'd its romantic steep, with mind serene,
I journey'd blithe. Full pensive I return'd;
For now my breast with hopeless passion burn'd,
Wet with hoar mists appear'd the gaudy scene,
Which late in careless indolence I pass'd;
And Autumn all around those hues had cast
Where past delight my recent grief might trace.
Sad change, that Nature a congenial gloom
Should wear, when most, my cheerless mood to chase,
I wish'd her green attire, and wonted bloom!'

The sonnet to the River Lodon[2] is even more interesting

Works. Gosse ed. I, 110. See Phelps, English Romantic Movement, 45-6. An anonymous pamphlet containing 12 sonnets was published in 1776. The form is correct on the Miltonic model. The subject, 'To the Nightengale', 'To the Butterfly', 'On Intemperance', etc. suggest their rather pseudo-classical character. They are not much more than poetical exercises in a new form.

1. The story of Coleridge's delight in Bowle's sonnets is well-known.

2. The River Lodon is near Basingstoke where Warton was born and where he lived until he went to Oxford.

intrinsically as well as historically. Although one is not always justified in interpreting poetry biographically, and though Warton was, as we have seen, extremely reticent, I cannot resist reading something of the poet himself into this sonnet. Its mood of melancholy retrospection is the vein so congenial to Bowles, which runs through all his verse. Somewhat the same note occurs in Coleridge's 'Sonnet to the River Otter', and less, distinctly, in Wordsworth's sequence on the River Duddon.

'Ah! what a weary race my feet have run,
Since first I trod thy banks with alders crown'd,
And thought my way was all thro' fairy ground,
Beneath thy azure sky, and golden sun:
Where first my Muse to lisp her notes begun!
While pensive Memory traces back the round,
Which fills the varied interval between;
Much pleasure, more of sorrow, marks the scene.
Sweet native stream! those skies and suns so pure
No more return, to cheer my evening road!
Yet still one joy remains, that not obscure,
Nor useless, all my vacant days have flow'd,
From youth's gay dawn to manhood's prime mature;
Nor with the Muse's laurel unbestow'd.'

It is evident enough from the three sonnets quoted that Warton was not master of the sonnet form. Although he followed in general the Miltonic form, he seldom observed the pause at the end of the octave, his rhymes do not recur regularly, and are frequently defective. But that a man of letters of Warton's prominence should adopt the sonnet form and put it to the romantic uses he did, — setting forth the glories of antiquity and something of the 'renascence of wonder' reflecting natural beauties and the poet's meditation upon them — was more important for the history of poetry. The anonymous author of the sheaf of sonnets published in 1776 was surer of his rhymes, but there was nothing new in his themes, and he belonged to the old school rather than to the reaction.

Warton's classicism is not so obvious a quality in his

poems as his mediaevalism and his love of nature. Although it is extremely difficult to point out particular instances of classical influence upon his poetry the careful reader gains from the whole a definite impression that the writer was thoroughly familiar with the best poetry of classical antiquity, and alive to its characteristic beauties. Mant, the editor of Warton's poems pointed out a number of parallels to passages from such classical poets as Theocritus and Pindar, Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Lucretius. Some few of the poems were frank imitations from Horace and Theocritus. But Warton's classicism was not so clearly manifested in imitations from, or allusions to, classical poetry, as in his recognition of the fact that there is no inevitable antipathy between the classical spirit and 'Gothic'poetry; that they have in common that imaginative quality which was so distinguishing a characteristic of the mediaeval romances, and which the poets of a pseudo-classical age lost by too close an adherence to the form, instead of an independent recognition of the spirit of classical antiquity. Much of Warton's own poetry dealt with mediaeval subjects, with the deliberate purpose of restoring by that means, that essential quality of great poetry which had disappeared in an age of reason.

In the sonnet on Dugdale's Monasticon, Warton distinctly resented the designation of antiquarian studies as 'unclassic'. And in the 'Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's Painted Window' he pointed out the possibility of a relation between the spirit of the middle ages and of classical antiquity, as illustrated, in this instance, by their application to ecclesiastical architecture. Reynolds, as a typical representative of the eighteenth century school of art, recognized a real incompatability between the 'softer

touch', the 'chaste design', the 'just proportion' and the 'faultless forms of elegance and grace', and the 'vaulted dome' and 'fretted shrines', the 'hues romantic' that'ting'd the gorgeous pane', the 'Gothic art' of ancient magnificence; the acceptance of one meant for him the denial of the other. I have suggested before that Warton's profession of conversion to the classical school of art, his profession that he had been

> 'For long enamour'd of a barbarous age,
> A faithless truant to the classic page,'

was not quite whole-hearted, and did not even deceive the friend to whom it was addressed.

The importance of the poem in this connection is not, however, its generous recognition of the beauties of Attic art, nor the more extended and sympathetic description of the magic of Gothic art, but the suggestion of the possibility of combining them to the advantage of both. With a just sense of their characteristic beauties, the greater naturalness and universality of one, the stronger appeal to the imagination of the other, he realized that in art, as in poetry, perfection lay in their union, and therefore he proposed that the great classical artist should

> ' ... add new lustre to religious light:
> Not of its pomp to strip this ancient shrine,
> But bid that pomp with purer radiance shine:
> With arts unknown before, to reconcile
> The willing Graces to the Gothic pile.'

Warton's poetry, then, like all his other literary work, touches romanticism most clearly on the mediaeval side. The odes on the Crusade and the Death of King Arthur, and the sonnets on Stonehenge, Arthur's Round Table and Dugdale's Monasticon give expression to the same master passion that urged him, as critic and historian, to exploit the beauties of Spenser and the forgotten

poets of early English literature. That he does not loom so large in the history of poetry as he does in that of criticism and scholarship we may explain by the fact already discussed, that he very early neglected poetry for other work which was more acceptable to his generation and had a wider field of influence. But if the importance of Warton's poetry is not comparable to that of his other work, neither can it be dismissed as insignificant. Compared with his achievements in other fields of literature, his poetry is obscured by their greater value, but compared with contemporary poetry it assumes a more significant place. Warton's verse illustrates more fully than that of any of his contemporaries the change that was taking place in English poetry, and it embodies practically every tendency of the new movement,— the repudiation of the pseudo-classical models, the Spenserian and Miltonic revivals, the return to nature, the cult of solitude, the melancholy of the moonlight and grave yard schools, the interest in the supernatural, and the Gothic revival. Warton's particular contribution was in the way of developing the Gothic or mediaeval element, encouraging the nature school of poetry, and giving impetus to the sonnet revival. While he lacked the lyrical sweetness and poetic insight of his friend Collins, whose qualities he could at least appreciate, and the poetic fire and inspiration of Gray, to whom he paid the tribute of a sonnet expressing his gratitude, these are the poets with whom one feels bound to compare him. If he had less poetical genius than either of them, he had a greater variety of interests to which he applied it. and his contributions in the direction of his principal interests, nature and the past, were distinguished.

'If any man may be called the father of the present race'

wrote Southey in the Quarterly in 1825, 'it is Thomas Warton, a scholar by profession, an antiquary and a poet by choice,' and he called Warton's school 'the true English school'.[1] He mentioned as his first pupils Bampfylde[2] and Russell,[3] to whom he should have added Headly[4] and Bowles. It is significant of Warton's importance as a poet that his influence should have been thus recognized so late in the romantic movement. The little group of young poets who gathered about Warton at Trinity, or took up his manner elsewhere, all belonged to the nature group, who carried forward that tradition and joined hands with the new school. It is noteworthy too that they were active in promoting the use of the sonnet form which their master used. In both of these respects, of course, they were exactly in the line of the poetical development of the age, which culminated in the work of Wordsworth.

The other line of romantic development which passed through Warton, and which, indeed, may be said to have originated there, the revival of the spirit of the past in poetry, found its best exponent in Sir Walter Scott. Scott's poetry represents the flowering of the Gothicism and mediaevalism which were present in a less perfect form in one group of Warton's poems. The similarity of temper and interests in the two men, and Scott's familiarity

1. 1825. XXXI, 289.
2. John Codrington Bampfylde (1754-1796) was educated at Cambridge and published 'Sixteen Sonnets' in 1778. His later life was wasted in dissipation. His poems give fresh natural descriptions, and were highly praised by Southey. D. N. B.
3. Russell's Sonnets and Miscellaneous Poems, published posthumously in 1789 were dedicated to his friend Warton. See supra I, 82.
4. Henry Headly (1765-1788) was a contemporary of Bowles at Trinity where they both fell under the influence of Warton. His poems were remarkable, considering the age, for their appreciation of nature. See D. N. B.

with Warton's work makes the probability of some actual influence as certain as such things can be. Quotations from Warton appear in the chapter headings of his works and upon the title-page of his Scottish Minstrelsy. —

> 'The songs, to savage virtue dear,
> That won of yore the public ear,
> Ere polity, sedate and sage,
> Had quench'd the fires of feudal rage.'[1]

While it would be too much to claim that Warton inspired in Scott the enthusiasm for the past which characterizes his stirring mediaeval poems; that he began and passed on to Wordsworth by way of Bowles the meditative description of simple natural objects; or that he was responsible for the sonnet revival,[2] it is only just to say that he both represented and furthered these incipient tendencies in eighteenth century poetry which were given such important development in the romantic triumph.

1. From the Ode for the New Year, 1787, lines 22-5.
2. T. H. Ward does say this in his introduction to Warton in his English Poets, III, 383.

III

THE CRITICAL RESTORATION OF SPENSER.

Thomas Warton's 'Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser' is one of the first important pieces of modern historical criticism. The age-long battle between the ancients and the moderns had worn itself out in one aspect at least. Since Temple had flung down the glove in England, and Swift had sprung to its defence with a satire more clever than decisive, the stupid squabble had raged with bitter personal invective and amazing ignorance of the arguments on both sides obscuring the point at issue. The critical value of the quarrel had been slight. So meagre was the knowledge of both parties that the issues became hopelessly confused; the 'ancients' knew the Latin classics fairly well, the Greek scarcely at all; the 'moderns' admitted and apologized for the barbarity and uncouthness of Spenser and Shakespeare, and were content to secure recognition for Mr. Waller. And when the right of the moderns to a secure and reputable place in literary achievement had been gradually won, it was only on the very questionable ground of conformity with the ancients. By such concessions to classical standards Addison had praised 'Paradise Lost',[1] and Swift had wished a similar justification of the 'Fairy Queen'.[2] Literary criticism had not kept pace with literary achievement. Modern works were recognized, but the old pseudo-classical standards of criticism prevailed; the new wine was bursting the old bottles.

1. Spectators Jan. to May, 1712.
2. Spectator 540.

An essential principle of romantic — of modern — criticism is the right of every work to be judged upon its own merits.[1] Such a paradoxical peace could not continue, could never really be made. The authority of the rules, the dogmatism of common sense, Pope's 'nature methodiz'd' were ill at ease beside the vague unrest that was first manifest in the quasi-scientific researches of the virtuosi, and the 'je ne sais quoi' of the school of taste. So the old quarrel was soon raging fiercely under new banners, the pseudo-classical citadel was being stormed by the hosts of the new-old romantic movement.

The crippled and dependent position of criticism in the early eighteenth century is interestingly paralleled by the philosophy of the period. Locke, abandoning a priori standards in order, as he thought, to regain them on the firmer ground of reason, constructed an order to which nature should correspond, a substance or substances, reflected or represented in ideas. So Rymer, justifying the rules on the basis of common sense instead of the authority of the ancients, insisted upon using them as the standards to which all forms of literature must conform. And he and his school were in need of a empiricist like Hume to throw overboard the rules and start with literature, as with experience, as it actually exists. A work of art can no more be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, dissociated from the influences that shaped its being, than it can be measured by out-worn standards derived from ancient theory and practice. What eighteenth century critics needed was wider knowledge, the power to use the wealth of classical authors, not as a table of weights and measures to be rigidly

1. Saintsbury: History of Criticism. 3 vols. New York, 1902. III, 4.

applied to the contemporary product, but as a lamp to guide them to an intelligent and sympathetic appreciation of it.

It is these two gifts that Thomas Warton had whereby he revolutionized criticism: intelligent independence to throw off hampering shackles, and broad knowledge to supply material for juster criteria. When he said 'It is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by rules which they did not attend to,'[1] he not merely asserted their right to be judged by Gothic or romantic, as opposed to pseudo-classical, standards, but he sounded the death-knell of criticism by rule, and the bugle-note of the modern school. When, in the same critical work, and even more conspicuously in two later ones,[2] he contributed a store of knowledge, a broad familiarity with many literatures — Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and English in its obscure as well as its more familiar eras, he rendered an even more important service on the side of constructive criticism.

The critical declaration of independence in the Observations on the Fairy Queen did not, of course, come as a flash out of a clear sky: it had been heralded by premonitory rumblings since the beginning of the century. It was partly the culmination of several parellel movements tending toward the restoration of the older English classics to their proper place in the assembly of immortals. While Chaucer was slowly winning a small circle of appreciators; Shakespeare, from ignorantly apologetic admiration and garbled staging, through serious study and intelligent comprehension, was coming into his own; and Milton was receiving a

1. Observations on the Fairy Queen. 2 vols. London 1807. I, 21.
2. History of English Poetry, 1774, 1778, 1781. Edition Milton's Poems upon Several Occasions. 1785.

vogue that left its mark in the new poetry; the Spenserian revival was simultaneously preparing to exert an even greater influence. The seventeenth century had been willing enough to assent to Jonson's dictum that Spenser 'writ no language', without noticing the caveat which followed, 'yet I would have him read for his matter'[1] and passed on his work to the next century, a neglected book. With equal neglect of his poetry the eighteenth century saw a series of Spenserian imitators arise who either ignorantly fancied that any arrangement of from six to ten iambic pentameter lines capped with an Alexandrine, with distinctly Popeian cadence and a sprinkling of 'I ween', 'I weet' and 'whilom' by way of antiquated diction, could pass for Spenserian verse,[2] or who followed the letter of the stanza closely enough, but failed to take their model seriously, and misapplied it to vulgar burlesque, social and political satire, and mere moralizing.[3] Their ignorance of the poet whom they professed to imitate is marked. Often they knew him only through Prior's imitations, usually their attempts

1. Timber, or Discoveries upon Men and Matter.
2. Prior: Ode to the Queen, written in Imitation of Spenser's Style. 1706. Preface.
Whitehead: Vision of Solomon. 1730, and two Odes to the Hon. Charles Townsend.
Boyse: The Olive: an Heroic Ode, etc. in the stanza of Spenser (ababcdcdee) 1736-7. Vision of Patience: an Allegorical Poem, Psalm XLII: In imitation of the Style of Spenser (ababcc, no Alexandrine) 1740.
Blacklock: Hymn to Divine Love, and Philantheus (ababbcc) 1746.
T. Warton, Sr.: Philander (ababcc) 1748.
Lloyd: Progress of Envy (ababcdcdd) 1751.
Smith: Thales (ababbccc) 1751.
See W. L. Phelps: Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement, Boston, 1902. Ch. on Spenserian Revival, and Appendix I, for a more complete list.
3. Pope: The Alley, date unknown, an exercise in versification, and ill-natured burlesque.
Croxall: Two Original Cantos of the Fairy Queen, 1713 and 1714.
Akenside: The Virtuoso, 1737, mild satire.
G. West: Abuse of Travelling, 1739, satire.
Cambridge: Archimago, 1742-50, a clever parody.

at antiquated diction betray them.[1] Occasionally, as in the case of Shenstone, a reading of that poet followed imitation of him, and led to a new attitude, changes in the imitation, and finally, apparently, to an admiration that he neither understood nor cared to admit.[2]

Of course by far the best of the Spenserian imitators was James Thomson, whose work was the first to rise above the merely

Shenstone: The Schoolmistress, 1742, satirical.
Pitt: The Jordan, 1747, vulgar burlesque.
Ridley: Psyche, 1747, moral allegory.
Mendez: The seasons, 1751, Squire of Dames, 1748-58.
Thomson: Castle of Indolence, 1748. See Phelps, as above.

1. Such slips as 'nor ceasen he fror study' and 'he would oft ypine' in Akenside's 'Virtuoso', and even Thompson's note 'The letter y is frequently placed in the beginning of a word by Spenser to lengthen it a syllable, and en at the end of a word for the same reason! Glossary to the Castle of Indolence.

2. I cannot agree with Professor Phelps that, 'as people persisted in admiring 'The Schoolmistress' for its own sake, he finally consented to agree with them, and in later editions omitted the commentary explaining that the whole thing was done in jest! (The Beginning of the English Romantic Movement, p. 66) On the contrary it seems pretty clear that while Shenstone had probably not come to any very profound appreciation for the older poet, his admiration for him became more and more serious, but that he lacked the courage of his convictions, and conformed outwardly with a public opinion wholly ignorant of Spenser. Prof. Phelps has ignored two later letters of Shenstone's which indicate pretty clearly that it was he, and not 'the people', whose taste for Spenser had developed. In November, 1745, he wrote to Graves (to whom he had written of his early contempt) that he had 'read Spenser again and added full as much more to my Schoolmistress in regard to number of lines: and something in point matter (or manner, rather) which does not displease me. I would be glad if Mr. ----- were, upon your request, to give his opinion of particulars,etc! Evidently the judgment was unfavorable, for he wrote the next year, 'I thank you for your perusal of that trivial poem ..... If I were going to print it, I should give way to your remarks implicitly, and would not dare do otherwise. But so long as I keep it in manuscript, you will pardon my silly prejudices, if I chuse to read and shew it with the addition of most of my new stanzas. I own, I have a fondness for several, imagining them to be more in Spenser's way, yet more independent on the antique phrase, than any part of the poem; and, on that account, I cannot yet prevail on myself to banish them entirely; but were I to print, I should (with some reluctance) give way to your sentiment.'

imitative and to have an independent value as creative poetry. His 'Advertisement' and a few burlesque touches throughout the poem are evidences of the influence of the 'Schoolmistress' and of the prevailing attitude toward Spenser, but Thomson went further than mere external imitation, and reproduced something of the melody and atmosphere of the 'Fairy Queen' by sheer force of poetic genius. But it remained for a greater critic to vindicate the source of this inspiration and to establish it on the firm basis of wide knowledge and intelligent appreciation.

John Hughes's 'Remarks on the Faerie Queene', the second prefatory essay to his edition of Spenser's works in 1715, the first eighteenth century edition,[1] was the first attempt at anything like an extended discussion of that poem. Steele, in the 540th Spectator three years before, had desired an 'Encomium of Spencer', 'that charming author', as well as of Milton, but nothing beyond his own very meagre hints was forthcoming. Hughes's attitude, like that of the imitators, was wholly apologetic. While he felt some reluctance in introducing a subject which was 'something out of the way, and not expressly treated upon by those who have laid down the Rules for the Art of Poetry,'[2] he also felt sure that 'Men of Critical Learning, if they had thought fit, might had given us Rules about Allegorical Writing, as they have done about Epick, and other kinds of Poetry; but they have rather chosen to let this Forest remain wild, as if they thought there was something in the Nature of the Soil, which cou'd not so well be restrain'd and cultivated in Enclosures.'[3] And he did not,

1. Spenser's Works, to which is prefix'd ... an Essay on Allegorical Poetry by Mr. Hughes. 6 vols. London, 1750.
2. Same p. xxl, vol. 1.
3. Same I. xxxiv.

take an unfair advantage of the neglect of the ancients in behalf of his poet, but endeavoured along the regular lines of pseudo-classical criticism to supply a proper set of rules and qualities for allegorical poetry, illustrated by examples from ancient practice.

This characteristic 'Essay on Allegorical Poetry' is important, for it is in its uncertain light that the critic expects 'not only to discover many Beauties in the Fairy Queen, but likewise to excuse some of its Irregularities.'[1] 'A lively and surprising fable' being determined to be the first necessary quality of a successful Allegory, Hughes found that 'the chief Merit of this Poem consists in the surprising vein of fabulous Invention which runs thro it, and enriches it everywhere in Imagery and Description more than we meet with in any other modern poem.'[2] The second and third requisites, Elegance or Propriety, and Consistency, were not so well observed: 'That which seems the most liable to Exception in this Work is the Model of it, and the Choice the Author has made of so romantic a story. The want of Unity in the Story makes it difficult for the Reader to carry it in his Mind ... and indeed the whole Frame of it wou'd appear monstrous if it were to be examin'd by the Rules of Epick Poetry.'[3] 'But', and here Hughes almost had a glimpse of the promised land, but had no lamp unto his feet, 'as it is plain the Author never design'd it by those Rules, I think it ought rather to be consider'd as a Poem of a particular kind, (an allegory, hence the essay) describing

1. Same I, xxxiv.
2. Same. 'Remarks on the Fairy Queen', I, xlii.
3. Same I, xlii.

in a Series of Allegorical Adventures or Episodes the most noted Virtues and Vices; to compare it therefore with the Models of Antiquity, wou'd be like drawing a Parallel between the Roman and Gothic Architectures.'[1]

This in not justification, but apology. Excuse follows. Instead of yielding to the spell of Spenser's fable, which, he admitted, 'gave the greatest scope to that range of Fancy which was so remarkably his Talent', and the plan, which, if not well chosen, was at least well executed and adapted to his talent, Hughes excused both on the score of the Italian models which he followed, and the remnants of the 'old Gothic Chivalry' which yet survived. The only praise he could give the poem was for the allegory, the moral and didactic bent which the poet had contrived to give it. 'Spenser's Fable', he said, 'tho often wild, is ... emblematical: and this may very much excuse likewise that Air of Romance in which he has follow'd the Italian Author. The perpetual Stories of Knights, Giants, Castles, and Enchantments, and all that Train of Legendary Adventures, wou'd indeed appear very trifling, if Spenser had not found a way to turn them all into Allegory'.[2]

At first sight Hughes seems to have made great strides in the direction of Warton's revolutionary dicta, but the bungling way in which he destroyed the force of his really best points by preparing in advance a set of pseudo-classical and misfit standards to apply as he exposed the unsuitability of the old, merely by the substitution of allegory for epic, takes away all its effect. Two serious defects prevented Hughes from becoming a good critic: an

1. Same I, xlv.
2. Same, I, xlv.

Augustan predilection for moralizing, and an equally Augustan neglect of all but the most obvious classical authors, and of all but the greatest of more modern poets before Waller. In spite of his statement that the Fairy Queen is not to be examined by the strict rules of epic poetry, he could not free himself from that bondage, and the most of his essay is taken up with a discussion of the poem in the light of the rules.

The same groping toward the light and the same purblindness mark Hughes's criticism of Spenser's versification. He pointed out that Spenser, in an age that knew not the perfect harmony of heroic verse, had attempted to improve English poetry by adopting the 'Ottave Rime', which, however, he improved by the addition of the Alexandrine. 'The Defect of it', he said,'in long or narrative Poems, is apparent. The same Measure, closed always by a full stop, in the same place, by which every Stanza is made as it were a distinct Paragraph, grows tiresom by continual Repetition, and frequently breaks the Sense, when it ought to be carry'd on without Interruption. With this Exception, the Reader will however find it harmonious, full of well-sounding Epithets, and of such elegant Turns on the Thought and Word, that Dryden himself owns he learn'd these Graces of Verse chiefly from our Author: and does not scruple to say, that in this Particular only Virgil surpass'd him among the Romans, and only Mr. Waller among the English.'[1] This is quite in the Augustan spirit of the age, inexplicable as it now appears that any ear tuned to the regular snip-snap of the couplet should find Spenser's varying cadences tiresome.

Unlike Shenstone, Hughes did not succumb to Spenser's

1. Same. I, xlci.

magic spell; he was only too well protected by the fetich of pseudo-classicism, of rules, and of 'common-sense!' And so this uninspired and therefore mistaken critic failed to arouse any interest in his author, and nearly forty years elapsed before his edition was reprinted. The significant point about Hughes's edition of Spenser is not his rationalistic criticism, nor his apologies for the romantic tendencies of his author, but the fact that he undertook the editing of so little-known a poet at all. That he was ill-equipped for his task, that he failed even to appreciate that a great store of knowledge must be opened up before that task could be intelligently undertaken, are the reasons why his edition failed to give a tremendous impetus to the Spenserian revival. His work is, however a straw that shows which way the stream was flowing, how slow was the current, and how dark and impeded the waters.

The next attempt at Spenserian criticism was a small volume of 'Remarks on Spenser's Poems and on Milton's Paradise Regained', published anonymously in 1734, and soon recognized as the work of Dr. Jortin, a classical scholar of some repute. This is practically valueless as a piece of criticism. But Jortin was at least partly conscious of his failure and of a reason for it, though he was more anxious to have the exact text determined by a 'collation of editions, and by comparing the author with himself' than to furnish an interpretative criticism; and he acknowledged himself unwilling to bestow the necessary time and application for the work, — a slight acknowledgment of the fact that no valuable work could be done in this field without special knowledge of the subject.

And when Thomas Warton was able to bring this special knowledge for the first time to the study of the Fairy Queen, he achieved a revolution in criticism. Freed from the tyranny of the rules by the perception of their limitations, he substituted untried avenues of approach and juster standards of criticism, and revealed unexploited beauties, which could never have been discovered with the old restrictions. That we should be without trace of pseudo-classicism is something we cannot expect; but that his general critical method and principles are ultimately irreconcilable with the most generous interpretation of that term, is a conclusion one cannot escape after an unprejudiced study of the 'Observations on the Fairy Queen'. Just what his new method and principles were, and how he presented them to a group of readers not in sympathy with them, I shall now endeavour to show in discussion of the Observations themselves.

The opening sentences could have disturbed no one: 'When the works of Homer and of Aristotle began to be restored and studied in Italy, when the genuine and uncorrupted sources of ancient poetry and ancient criticism were opened, and every species of literature at last emerged from the depths of Gothic ignorance and barbarity, it might have been expected, that, instead of the romantic manner of poetical composition introduced and established by the Provencial bards, a new and more legitimate taste of writing would have succeeded. With these advantages it was reasonable to conclude, that unnatural events, the machinations of imaginary beings and adventures entertaining only as they were improbable, would have given place to justness of thought and design, and to that decorum which nature dictated, and which the example and the

prospect of antiquity had authorised.'[1]

Few critics at that time recognized any difference between their own rules and practice and those of the ancients, or caught Warton's note of real as distinguished from pseudo-classicism. Many would agree, too, that Spenser was led by the prevailing notions of his time to write an irregular or romantic poem. Just here comes the important and irreparable break between them. While Hughes and the rest attempted to justify Spenser by pointing out conformities to the rules[2] where such existed or might be fancied, and condemned his practice when they failed to find any, Warton was at some pains to show that Hughes has failed, and must fail, because the plan and conduct of Spenser's poem is highly exceptionable, is confused and irregular, and has no general unity;[3] it fails completely when examined by the rules. To Warton this clearly showed the existence of another standard of criticism — not the Aristotelian, but the poet's; Spenser had not tried to write like Homer, but like Ariosto; his standard was romantic, not classical; and he was to be judged by what he tried to do.

Warton appears to have been conscious of a break with the critics, whose assent he nevertheless sought in his condemnation of Ariosto. 'Yet every classical, every reasonable critic must acknowledge, that the poet's conception in celebrating ..... the irra

1. Observations on the Fairy Queen, I, 1-2.
2. Dryden had done the same thing in the 'Dedication to the Translation of Juvenal' by pointing out how the 'character of Prince Arthur shines throughout the whole poem,' and Warton took issue squarely with him on the point and denied any such unity. Addison used the same method in his papers on Paradise Lost. Beni was probably the originator of this sort of misapplied criticism in his comparison of Tasso with Homer and Virgil.
3. Observations, I, 17.

irrational acts of a hero, implies extravagance and absurdity.'[1] His efforts to engage their interest could not carry them with him when he continued, 'But it is absurd to think of judging Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to'[2] and no doubt he was conscious of it, for he reached out a conciliating hand in the next sentence and then rushed on where they could not follow. 'We who live in the days of writing by rule', he continued, 'are apt to try every composition by those laws which we have been taught to think the sole criterion of excellence. Critical taste is universally diffused, and we require the same order and design which every modern performance is expected to have, in poems where they were never regarded or intended. Spenser and ..... Ariosto did not live in an age of planning. His poetry is the careless exuberance of a warm imagination and a strong sensibility. It was his business to engage the fancy, and to interest the attention by bold and striking images, in the formation of which, little labour or art was applied. The various and the marvellous were the chief sources of delight. Hence we find our author ransacking alike the regions of reality and romance, of truth and fiction, to find the proper decorations and furniture for his fairy structure. Born in such an age, Spenser wrote rapidly from his own feelings, which at the same time were naturally noble. Exactness in his poem, would have been like the cornice which a painter introduced in the grotto of Calypso. Spenser's beauties are like the flowers in Paradise.'

This comparison of Spenser's beauties with the 'flowers in Paradise' is a striking example of the romantic quest of beauties beyond the reach of art, in a realm wholly imaginary and at

1. Same, p. 18.
2. Same, 21.

the antipodes from 'nature methodiz'd.' Not only decorum and propriety, but reason itself, that sine qua non of the eighteenth century, were violated in this exaltation of a higher quality than reason and nature.

When beauties transcend nature, delight goes beyond reason, Dr. Johnson condemned 'all power of fancy over reason (as a) degree of insanity;[1] 'but Blake, whom transports of emotion finally carried to madness, called 'reason ... the only evil'.[2] Warton had parted company with Johnson and his school, and the whole romantic exaltation of feeling was on the way, when Warton made a place for transport in a critical discourse. 'If the Fairy Queen be destitute of that arrangement and economy which epic severity requires, yet we scarcely regret the loss of these, while their place is so amply supplied by something which more powerfully attracts us: something which engages the affections, the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem whose graces please, because they are situated beyond the reach of art, and where the force and faculties of creative imagination delight, because they are unassisted and unrestrained by those of deliberate judgment, it is this. In reading Spenser, if the critic is not satisfied, yet the reader is transported.'

Every propriety of Queen Anne criticism had now been violated. Not satisfied with condemning all previous Spenserian criticism as nonsense, Warton dared to place the uncritical reader's delight above the critic's deliberate disapproval, and then

1. Rasselas, Ch., XLIX.
2. Crabbe Robinson's Diary, Sadler Ed. Boston, 1780 II, 43.

to commend that enthusiasm, and the beauties which aroused it. Warton had now enunciated two revolutionary dicta: — there are other standards than those of Boileau and the ancients (save the mark!); there are other beauties than those of Pope and 'nature methodiz'd.'

After these preliminary but telling volleys, Warton proceeded to a careful study of the Fairy Queen with especial reference to its sources, both of spirit and of material, and the literary background upon which it was projected. And to this study he brought a fund of knowledge which, however much later scholars, who have taken up large holdings in the territory charted by that pioneer may unjustly scorn its superficiality or inexactness, was for that time quite exceptional, and which could not fail to illuminate the poem to the point of transfiguration. Every reader of Spenser had accepted his statement that he took Ariosto as his model, but no one before Warton had remarked another model, one closer in respect of matter, which the poet no doubt thought too obvious to mention, the old romances of chivalry. 'Although Spenser formed his Faerie Queene upon the fanciful plan of Ariosto.' said Warton, 'yet it must be confessed, that the adventures of his knights are a more exact and immediate copy of those which we meet with in old romances, or books of chivalry, than of those which form the Orlando Furioso. Ariosto's knights exhibit surprising examples of their prowess, and achieve many heroic actions. But our author's knights are more professedly engaged in revenging injuries, and doing justice to the distressed; which was the proper business and ultimate end of the ancient knight-errantry .... Spenser's first book is, indeed, a regular and precise

imitation of such a series of action as we frequently find in books of chivalry.'[1] Then follows a learned discussion of Malory's 'Morte Arthur', considered as the largest contributing romance, as well as references to 'Sir Bevis of Southampton', the ballad of the Boy and the Mantle, Chaucer's 'Rime of Sir Thopas' and the romance of the 'Seven Champions', and a serious consideration of fairy lore in fable and popular superstition none of which had before appeared in a critical discussion. All these and much more were justly held to be necessary for a proper estimate and appreciation of the Fairy Queen.

And Warton made a tactful appeal to all true lovers of Spenser in behalf of the fresh illustration he was able to bring to the study of that poet. 'Many other examples might be alleged, from which it would be more abundantly manifested that our author's imagination was entirely possessed with that species of reading, which was the fashion and delight of his age. The lovers of Spenser, I hope, will not think I have been too tedious in a disquisition, which has contributed not only to illustrate many particular passages in their favourite poet, but to display the general cast and colour of his poem. Some there are who will censure what I have collected on this subject, as both trifling and uninteresting; but such readers can have no taste for Spenser.'[2]

This conception of criticism as requiring a broad knowledge in order to form just and intelligent judgments, as requiring in particular the consideration of each work of art as a part of the national literature from which it sprang, and further, in

1. Observations, I, 25.
2. Same, I, 91.

relation to world literature of which English or any other literature is only a part, this is a conception of the function of criticism of which the Queen Anne critics had hardly dreamed. That English literature was not the direct descendant of the literatures of Greece and Rome, but came into existence during the despised dark ages, and belongs to a mixed race, largely Teutonic, but with a strong Latin strain; that it has developed according to its own laws, and those quite as legitimate as the classical rules; this Warton perceived with a wisdom beyond his generation.

It was natural, in an age when literary criticism consisted largely in discovering the sources of a poet's ideas, phrases or even words, in earlier, especially classical, poets, that Warton should have devoted several sections of his Observations to similar discussions of Spenser's Imitations from old romance, from ancient history, and mythology, from Chaucer and from Ariosto.

'We feel a malicious sort of triumph,' he said, in detecting the latent and obscure source, from whence an original author has drawn some celebrated description; yet this, it must be granted, soon gives way to the rapture that naturally results from contemplating the chymical energy of true genius.'[1] Warton pointed out that one value of this sort of criticism when applied to Spenser was that it showed how he transformed and improved the material which he borrowed so as to make it wholly his own. Therefore Spenser was not to be condemned for his misrepresentations of ancient fable, but to be praised for his additions to it. Warton's recognition of this creative power in Spenser aroused his

1. Observations, I, 75.

genuine enthusiasm.

'Spenser's native force of invention would not suffer him to pursue the letter of prescribed fiction, with scrupulous observation and servile regularity. In many particulars he varies from antiquity only to substitute new beauties, and from a slight mention of one or two leading circumstances in ancient fable takes an opportunity to display some new fiction of his own coinage.'[1]

The section (III) 'Of Spenser's Use and Abuse of Ancient History and Mythology' is a rather tangled mass of erudition: gleanings from classical and modern poets, mythology and history, and a great deal of discussion of Milton and his sources, which anticipates his edition of that poet. Two interesting evidences of Warton's genuine classicism appear here incidentally, his condemnation of Scaliger 'as a professed enemy to the more ancient and simple Grecian poets', who 'had no notion of simple and genuine beauty, nor ever considered the manners and customs which prevailed in early times';[2] and his feeling that the sacredness of classical story had been violated by Milton in making the Graces the offspring of Venus and Bacchus.[3]

In his treatment of Spenser's stanza, versification and language Warton adopted many of the ideas of his predecessors. He fell into their error of thinking that the Spenserian stanza is merely ottava rima plus an Alexandrine, and that this stanza is but ill-adapted to the English language. He thought that the con-

1. Same, I, 93.
2. Prof. Saintsbury says in his History of Criticism that even 'Neo-classics ... need not necessarily have objected to Warton's demonstration that Scaliger 'had no notion of simple and genuine beauty'. Scaliger certainly had more followers than opponents of his rating of Homer and Virgil, among the Neo-classics.
3. 'I cannot be persuaded that such a licence is allowable on any occasion'.

straint imposed by the necessity of finding so many similar terminations led the poet into many absurdities, yet had the advantage of increasing frequently the 'fulness and significancy of Spenser's descriptions', and indeed often helped him to a new thought.[1] Warton showed the effect of the Augustan standards of poetry in his insistence that an Alexandrine could not be harmonious without a full pause after the third foot. Although he did not feel the romanticist's enthusiasm for Spenser's versification, he was sufficiently the poet to appreciate his success with it.

It is indeed surprising ... that Spenser should execute a poem of uncommon length, with so much spirit and ease, laden as he was with so many shackles, and embarassed with so complicated a bondage of riming ... His style in general has great perspicuity and facility. It is also remarkable, that his lines are seldom broken by transpositions, antitheses or parentheses. His sense and sound are equally flowing and uninterrupted.'[2]

With regard to language we do not expect, nor find, enthusiasm. Warton found Jonson 'perhaps unreasonable',[3] but declared that the groundwork and substance of his style was the language of his age. He recognized Spenser's effort to restore the English language to its former purity, which had been adulterated by the introduction of coinages from other languages; and believed that his practice had tended rather to improve than debase the language of his age.

1. Warton credited Dryden with having expressed this idea.
2. Obs. 169-70
3. In his opinion that 'Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language.'

'In truth, the affectation of Spenser in this point is by no means so striking and visible as Jonson has insinuated; nor is his phraseology so different and obsolete as it is generally supposed to be. For many stanzas together we may frequently read him with as much facility as we can the same number of lines in Shakespeare.'[1] But if he did not endorse Jonson's condemnation of Spenserian language, he did appreciate the effect of a moderate use of and words in poetry, and praised Jonson's dictum that "'Words borrowed of antiquity do lend a kind of majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes ... But the eldest of the present, and the newest of the past language is best.'"[2]

From Scaliger in Italy and Rymer in England the practice of comparative criticism by means of quotations, originally an important step in the right direction, had degenerated into a sort of 'parallel-passage-and-plagiarism mania' that flourished because of the ease with which inferior critics could display their little learning thereby. Warton took pains to distinguish his discussion of Spenser's imitations from Chaucer and Ariosto from this sort of folly. While it may be true, as his critics declared, that his own practice was open to objection in this respect, his avowed intention was progressive, and his attack on that whole tribe of critics was a telling one. Of Spenser's imitations he said, 'It is frequently true, that parallelists mistake <u>resemblances</u> for <u>thefts</u>. But this doctrine by no means affects the instances which

1. Observations, I, 185.
No doubt this parallel does not greatly help the case in an age when Atterbury could say he found some parts of Shakespeare as difficult to understand as the hardest part of Chaucer. Letter to Pope 1721. Pope's Works, Elwin-Courthope Ed., IX, 26.
2. Observations, I, 186.

I shall give, ... of Spenser's imitations from Chaucer, and ... of the passages he has copied from Ariosto. Spenser is universally acknowledged to have been an attentive reader, and a professed admirer of both the poets. His imitations from the former are most commonly literal, couched in the expressions of the original. What he has drawn from Ariosto are artificial fictions, which consisting of unnatural combinations, could not on account of their singularity, be fallen upon by both poets accidentally ... We may therefore safely pronounce the resemblances in the sections here mentioned, to have been intended.'[1] Even more vigorously in discussing Spenser's imitations of himself he first repudiated the parallelists, 'Commentators of less taste than learning, of less discernment than ostentation, have taken infinite pains to point out, and compare those passages which their respective authors have imitated from others. This disquisition, if executed with a judicious moderation, and extended no further than to those passages which are distinguished with certain indubitable characters, and internal evidences of transcription or imitation, must prove an instructive and entertaining research ... But where even the most apparent traces of likeness are found, how seldom can we determine with truth and justice ... that an imitation was intended?'[2] and then proposed a new sort of parallelism, 'As this then is a business which does not always proceed on sure principles, often affording the amusement of conjecture rather than the satisfaction of demonstration, it will be, perhaps, a more useful design to give Spenser's Imitations of Himself ... This kind of

1. Same, I, 188-9.
2. Observations, I, 1-2.

criticism will prove of service in the three following respects. It will discover and ascertain a poet's favourite images ... It will teach us how variously he expresses the same thought; and will explain difficult passages and words.'[1]

As in the case of mediaeval romance, Warton was the first critic to consider in any detail Spenser's indebtedness to Chaucer. Antiquarians had been mildly interested in Chaucer, but his importance for the study of the origins of English poetry had been ignored in the prevalent delusion that the classics were the ultimate sources of all literature. One can scarcely over-estimate the importance with attaches to Warton's evident first-hand knowledge of Chaucer in an age when he was principally known only through Dryden's and Pope's garbled modernizations, or Milton's reference to him

' .... who left half-told
The story of Cambuscan bold.'

Much more significant is the fact of his appreciation of Chaucer's intrinsic worth (and upon not too inadequate grounds). 'I cannot dismiss this Section without a wish, that this neglected author, whom Spenser proposed as the pattern of his style, and to whom he is indebted for many noble inventions, should be more universally studied. This is at least what one might expect in an age of research and curiosity. Chaucer is regarded rather as an old, than a good poet. We look upon his poems as venerable relics, not as beautiful compositions; as pieces better calculated to

1. In more than one essay Dryden referred to Chaucer as Spenser's master; although he had in mind usually the matter of antiquated language. Dedication of the Pastorals, Dryden's Works, Cambridge Ed. p. 420. Discourse concerning Satire, p. 287, and Preface to the Fables, p. 740.

gratify the antiquarian than the critic. He abounds not only in strokes of humour, which is commonly supposed to be his sole talent, but of pathos and sublimity, not unworthy of a more refined age. His old manners, his romantic arguments, his wildness of painting, his simplicity and antiquity of expression, transport us into some fairy region, and are all highly pleasing to the imagination. It is true that his uncouth and unfamiliar language disgusts and deters many readers, but the principal reason of his being so little known and so seldom taken in hand, is the convenient opportunity of reading him with pleasure and facility in modern imitations.[1]

The arraignment which follows of the slipshod scholarship of the age, is equally delightful to us, and quite as characteristic of Warton's breadth of knowledge and critical acumen. He at least realized, as Pope and many other translators did not, that a classical or any other poem could be properly known and appreciated only in the language in which it was written.[2]

For when translation....at length becomes substituted as the means of attaining a knowledge of any difficult and ancient author, the original not only begins to be neglected and excluded as less easy, but also to be despised as less ornamental and elegant. Thus the public taste becomes imperceptibly vitiated, while the genuine

1- Observations, I, 269-71.

2- Dryden of course had appreciated the difficulties of translation, and realized that it was only a makeshift for the benefit of those who could not understand the language of the original. And Dr. Johnson declared that the beauties of poetry could not be translated, therefore it was necessary to learn other languages. But the popularity of Dryden's translations, and the large number of translations and imitations that appeared during his, and succeeding generations justified Warton's censures. See Dryden's Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistle, to Sylvae, or the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies, and to the Fables. Boswell's Johnson III, 36.

model is superseded, and gradually gives way to the establishment of a more specious, but false, resemblance. Thus, too many readers happy to find the readiest accommodation for their indolence and illiteracy, think themselves sufficient masters of Homer from Pope's translation and thus, by an indiscreet comparison, Pope's translation is commonly preferred to the Grecian text.[1]

In the section on Ariosto too there is something more than a display of learning (and that there certainly is); there is an approach to a fresher and juster appreciation of that poet. The geniuses of Spenser and Ariosto he said were entirely different, 'Spenser, amidst all his absurdities, abounds with beautiful and sublime representation; while Ariosto's strokes of true poetry bear no proportion to his sallies of merely romantic imagination. He gives us the grotesque for the graceful, and extravagance for majesty. He frequently moves our laughter....but seldom awakens our admiration. .....Ariosto's vein is .... absolutely comic, and infinitely better suited to scenes of humour, than to serious and solemn description. ....But if there should be any readers, who .... would prove that its author possessed an extensive and elevated invention, let them remember, that these are commonly borrowed from romances, and applied by the poet to the tenor of his allegory. Yet even here he gives us no proofs of a strong imagination. For he was more fond of imitating their enormous improbabilities than of adorning his poetry with the more glorious and genuine colourings of their magnificient conceptions.[2]

Is there not here in Warton's careful contrast between the poetic faculties of Spenser and Ariosto a recognition of that

1- Observations, I, 269-71.
2- Same, I, 305-7.

distinction of which Coleridge made so much when he distinguished fancy and imagination as two different faculties.[1] Warton is not exact as to nomenclature, but he seems to have had in mind a real difference between the 'imagination' of Spenser, and the 'fancy' of Ariosto (to use the terms in the strict sense of Coleridge). He made the distinction, too not as a scholiast, but as a critic whose feelings and perceptions were as keen as his reason. The difference between the two faculties is brought out again, and even more clearly, when he is distinguishing the allegorical powers of the two poets. Warton's conception of imagination as creative or vital is practically identical with Coleridge's.

'(Spenser) proves himself a much more ingenious allegorist, where his imagination bodies forth unsubstantial things, turns them to shape, and marks out the nature, powers, and effects, of that which is ideal and abstracted, by visible and external symbols..... Artiosto gives us but few symbolical beings of this sort; for a picturesque invention was by no means his talent.'

Warton is not so definite in identifying fancy as the lower or imitative faculty, which he quite as clearly recognized. However, in describing the effect of the marvellous in romance upon the poetic faculty he said that they 'rouse and invigorate all the powers of imagination, (and) store the fancy with...sublime and alarming images.' Clearly the imagination alone was conceived as active, the fancy received its material ready made, as Coleridge said.

1- Coleridge, Biographia Literaria, Ed. Shawcross, 2 Vols.Oxford 1907. I, 61-2, 202. Imagination..dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate,...it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essentually vital. 'Fancy, on the contrary, has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. The Fancy is indeed no other than a mode of Memory emancipated from the order of time and space.... Fancy must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association. p 202..

Warton's examination of Upton's opinion of several passages in the Fairy Queen is somewhat open to the criticism that he admits for it; 'As that part of criticism which consists in rectifying the doubtful readings, and explaining the more obscure passages, of ancient authors, necessarily deals much in conjecture; and as those who are employed in this province are often tempted to deduce their determinations, not from what is, but what seems to be, the truth; no disquisition affords a greater diversity of sentiments concerning the same thing. It is here that we see the force of mere opinion, unsupported by demonstration, in its full extent; while the lucky corrections and illustrations of one commentator appear improbable and absurd to the more sagacious eyes of another.'[1] Warton's judgment, however, was usually good, and his conclusions in this necessary, but somewhat dry, sort of criticism are of considerable value. His very wide reading had placed at his disposal for purposes of comparison a great wealth of material which he was able to use to good advantage in elucidating his text.[2]

To consider the relation of a poet to his age was for Warton so important a duty that its neglect would lead to the very errors which his predecessors in Spenserian criticism had made. Therefore he returned to the discussion of the proper standards for judging Spenser: not the rules of which he was ignorant, but the literature with which he was familiar. Warton recognized quite clearly a distinction between a romantic and a classical

1- Observations, II, 47-8.
2- The enormous extent of reading he had done, the works consulted, the details noted, are not so apparent in the finished work as in his edition of Spenser, its wide margins covered with copious notes and references in his not very legible hand. (It is in the British Museum.)

poet. 'In reading the works of a poet who lived in a remote age, it is necessary that we should look back upon the customs and manners which prevailed in that age. We should endeavour to place ourselves in the writer's circumstances. Hence we shall become better enabled to discover how his turn of thinking, and manner of composing, were influenced by familiar appearances and established objects, which are utterly different from those with which we are at present surrounded. For want of this caution too many readers view the knights and damsels, the tournaments and enchantments, of Spenser, with modern eyes; never considering that the encounters of chivalry subsisted in our author's age; that romances were then most eagerly and universally studied; and that consequently Spenser, from the fashion of the times, was induced to undertake a recital of chivalrous achievements, and to become, in short, a romantic poet.'[1] This is certainly a long step in the direction of what Leslie Stephen called the whole art of criticism, 'learning to know the human being who is partially revealed to us in his spoken or written words,'[2] an ideal not desired in an age whose literature and life were pretty narrowly restricted by artificial rules and conventions.

That this was not an unconscious or accidental conclusion is evident from Warton's recognition of the difference between his own method of criticism and that of his contemporaries, and his defense of his own position. 'Mechanical critics will perhaps be disgusted at the liberties I have taken in introducing so many anecdotes of ancient chivalry. But my subject required

1- Observations, 71-2
2- Stephen, Hours in a Library, p 3.

proofs of this sort. Nor could I be persuaded that such inquiries were, in other respects, either useless or ridiculous, as they tended, at least, to illustrate an institution of no frivolous or indifferent nature. Chivalry is commonly looked upon as a barbarous sport, or extravagant amusement, of the dark ages. It had, however, no small influence on the manners, policies and constitutions of ancient times, and served many public and important purposes... I am still further to hope, that together with other specimens of obsolete literature in general....the many references I have made, in particular to Romances, the necessary appendage of ancient Chivalry, will also plead their pardon.[1]

For Warton, as we have seen before, mediaeval literature was important not merely as furnishing the environment in respect to which the Fairy Queen could be judged; it had two great sources of intrinsic value; It represented a real state of human society, and it was an inexhaustible source of poetic inspiration. On the first consideration Warton rested his defence of mediaeval romances against the charge of unnaturalness. Pope had found nature and Homer the same; Warton found an equal truth in the manners portrayed in romance, 'For however monstrous and unnatural these compositions appear to this age of reason and refinement, they merit more attention than the world is willing to bestow. They preserve many curious historical facts, and throw considerable light on the nature of the feudal system. They are the pictures of ancient usages and customs; and represent the manners, genius and character of our ancestors.'[2] 'Spenser, in this respect, copied real manners no less than Homer....This....was nothing more than an imitation of real life; as much, at least, as the plain

1- Observations, II, 321-3.
2- Observations, II, 321-2.

descriptions in Homer, which corresponded to the simplicity of manners then subsisting in Greece.'[1]

Of the second value of mediaeval romances, as a stimulating power, Warton said:- 'Above all, such are their Terrible Graces of magic and enchantment, so magnificently marvellous are their fictions and failings, that they contribute, in a wonderful degree, to rouse and invigorate all the powers of imagination: to store the fancy with those sublime and alarming images, which true poetry best delights to display.'

Warton's defense of Spenser as a allegorical poet is of quite another sort than Hughes's essay. Instead of a set of forced *a priori* rules for a branch of epic which finds its *raison d'être* in its morality, he, as usual, was concerned with forms of allegory as they existed and were familiar to his poet, and with the history of allegorical poetry in England. This aspect, as he rightly said, had been wholly neglected; every one who thought about it at all--and there must have been few--was content to accept Ariosto's allegory as a sufficient model for Spenser's. Warton's researches hit upon the popularity of allegorical masques and pageants in the sixteenth century, and he saw at once that these spectacles must have contributed to the liveliness and effectiveness of Spenser's allegorical characters. 'Nor is it sufficiently considered, that a popular practice of Spenser's age contributed in a considerable degree, to make him an *allegorical* Poet. We should remember, that in this age allegory was applied as the subject and foundation of public shews and spectacles... The virtues and vices, distinguished by their respective emblem-

1- Observation, II, 71.

atical types, were frequently personified and represented by living actors. These figures bore a chief part in furnishing what they called pageaunts; which were then the principal species of entertainment, and were shown, not only in private, or upon the stage, but very often in the open streets....In the mean time, I do not deny that Spenser was, in great measure, tempted by the Orlando Furioso to write an allegorical poem. Yet it must still be acknowledged, that Spenser's peculiar mode of allegorising seems to have been dictated by those spectacles, rather than by the fictions of Ariosto.'[1]

Then follows a nice distinction between Ariosto's allegory, which consists rather of the exposition of moral doctrines, than the impersonation of vices, virtues, and abstract qualities, and Spenser's, which, while sometimes of this sort, is more excellent in the vivid portrayal of symbolical beings,'[2] and this new and intelligent explanation of Spenser's success, 'And that Spenser painted these figures in so distinct and animated a style, may we not partly account for it from this cause: That he had been long habituated to the sight of these emblematical personages visibly decorated with their proper attributes, and actually endued with speech, motion and life.'[3] It was a daring adventure in criticism to imply that epic poetry had been modified by popular drama; the highest kind of poetry would be regarded as having little to gain from so humble a sort.

1- Observations, II, 74-6.

2- In a note Warton adds..'but can we call the Fairy Queen, upon the whole a moral poem? is it not equally an historical or political poem? For though it be, according to its author's works, an allegory or dark conceit, yet that which is couched or understood under this allegory is the history, and intrigues, of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers; which however are introduced with moral design.'

3- Observation, II, 78.

The defense that Warton felt called upon to make for his position speaks volumes of the state of criticism. 'From what has been said, I would not have it objected that I have intended to arraign the powers of our author's invention; or insinuated, that he servilely copied such representations. All I have endeavoured to prove is, that Spenser was not only better qualified to delineate fictions of this sort, because they were real objects of his sight; but, as all men are influenced by what they see, that he was prompted and induced to delineate them because he saw them, especially as they were so much the delight of his age.'[1]

While this accounts for Spenser's success (as far as such things can be accounted for)[2] it does not explain the popularity of allegory, and Warton was too much the scholar not to attempt that explanation. That he did not get to the ultimate sources of allegorical poetry in England is not so surprising as it would have been had he done so. It is quite enough that he attempted a sketch of the course of English poetry before Spenser, in that reign of barbaric gloom and Gothicism. We have no reason to complain of a critic who said, 'If we take a retrospect of English poetry from the age of Spenser, we shall find that it principally consisted in visions and allegories, when he could add as a matter of information, 'There are indeed the writings of some English poets now remaining who wrote before Gower or Chaucer.'[3]

1- Observation, II, 82.
2- In the number of English allegories before Spenser, Warton found one which he thought might have influenced him, Sackville's Induction which 'approaches nearer to the Fairy Queen in the richness of allegorical description than any previous or succeeding poem.' II, 103.
3- Observations, II, 92.

As Warton indicated that he intended enlarging upon this subject in a regular history of English poetry, and as he later carried out that plan, it will be well to defer the criticism of this part of the Observations until a subsequent chapter. I cannot, however, forbear introducing Warton's arraignment of poetry since the decline of allegory, where he is wholly the romantic critic and where he enunciated a belief that he later amplified at some length.[1] After the final decay of allegorical poetry, he said, 'a poetry succeeded, in which imagination gave way to correctness, sublimity of description to delicacy of sentiment, and majestic imagery to conceit and epigram. Poets began now to be more attentive to words, than to things and objects. The nicer beauties of happy expression were preferred to the daring strokes of great conception. Satire, that bane of the sublime, was imported from France. The muses were debauched at court; and polite life and familiar manners, became their only themes. The simple dignity of Milton was either entirely neglected, or mistaken for bombast and insipidity, by the refined readers of a dissolute age, whose taste and morals were equally vitiated.'[2]

The rest of the Observations is made up of a rather miscellaneous accumulation of notes on various subjects, the product of a mind brimful of knowledge. Scattered through the pages of this first critical work of Warton's are the beginnings of most of his subsequent work, the first rough outlines of his History, many important gleanings for his edition of Milton, and the first signs of his interest in Gothic architecture, which, however never saw the light as a finished whole, if it was ever

1- In the History of English Poetry.
2- Same, 106-8.

carried to any advanced stage of completeness. As these fragments are more conveniently discussed in connection with their later development, I omit them here.

That a book so radical in its criticism as this one should meet with considerable adverse criticism was to be expected; and Warton anticipated several possible objections, and defended his method at the same time setting forth rather clearly his purpose and critical method. That he published his remarks in a series of critical essays instead of in the usual manner of notes to a critical edition of his author, was due to his just sense of their greater effectiveness in their present form, the promise of two editions from the hands of other cricics, and his unwillingness to prepare a complete commentary on the whole text,[1] which would have necessitated more labour than he was willing to bestow, and would have diluted the effectiveness of his most striking criticisms. In reply to the objection that he may have been more concerned with pointing out the faults than the beauties of his author, he defended himself thus, 'nothing is more absurd or useless than the panegyrical comments of those, who criticise from the imagination rather than from judgment, who exert their admiration instead of their reason, and discover more of enthusiasm than discernment.' He made a plea for more intelligent criticism, and outlined his own plan thus: 'to give a clear and comprehensive estimate of the characteristical merits and manner, of this admired, but neglected, poet. For this purpose I have searched his cotemporary writers, and examined the books on which the pecu-

1- It would appear from a glance at Warton's copy of Spenser's Works copiously annotated by him in the preparation of this book, that most of the work had already been done for an edition of that poet.

liarities of his style, taste, and composition are confessedly founded. I fear I shall be censured for quoting too many pieces of this sort. But experience has frequently and fatally proved that the commentator whose critical enquiries are employed on Spenser, Jonson, and the rest of our elder poets, will in vain give specimens of his classical erudition, unless at the same time he brings to his work a mind intimately acquainted with those books, which....were yet in common use and high repute about the time in which his authors respectively wrote, and which they consequently must have read. While these are unknown, many allusions and many imitations will either remain obscure, or lose half their beauty and propriety.'[1]

Conscious that he had outraged the critics of his day, he did what he could to appease them by saying that he had, so far as was possible, judged his poet by epic standards, that while romantic materials claim great liberties, he had 'endeavoured to account for those defects partly from the peculiar bent of the poet's genius, which at the same time produced infinite beauties, and partly from the predominating taste of the times in which he wrote,'[2] that he had 'so far conformed to the reigning maxims of modern criticism as...to recommend classical propriety.'

1- Warton's scathing arraignment of Pope's criticism of Theobald's Shakespeare is in the same strain, 'Pope laughs at Theobald for giving us, in his edition of Shakespeare, a sample of "----------all such reading as never was read." But these strong and ridiculous books which Theobald quoted, were unluckily the very books which Theobald quoted, were unluckily the very books which Shakespeare himself had studied; the knowledge of which enabled that useful editor to explain so many difficult allusions and obsolete customs in his poem, which otherwise could never have been understood. If Shakespeare is worth reading he is worth explaining; and the researches used for so valuable and elegant a purpose, merit the thanks of genius and candour, not the satire of prejudice and ignorance.

2- Observations, II, 317.

But Warton could never avow any pseudo-classical tendency, without immediately making a longer advance in the direction of romanticism. Here he did it in the form of an enthusiastic appreciation of his author, with which he closed the book.

The strong romantic import of Warton's Observations on the Fairy Queen was not at once recognized, though its scholarly merits and the impulse it gave to the study of literature were generously praised by the greatest critic of the pseudo-classical school, Dr. Samuel Johnson.[1] This is however scarcely a fair test for the 'watch-dog of classicism', although a very indifferent scholar when compared with Warton, had a tremendous and almost omnivorous thirst for knowledge, and his nearest sympathy with the romantic movement was when its researches tended to increase the sum of human knowledge, although he despised research for its own sake. Warburton was delighted with the Observations, and told Warton so.[2] Walpole complimented the author upon it, though he had no fondness for Spenser.[3] The reviewer for the Monthly Review (August, 1754) showed little critical perception. Although he discussed the book section by section, he discovered nothing extraordinary in it, nothing but the usual influence of Ariosto,

1- July 16, 1754. 'I now pay you a very honest acknowledgement, for the advancement of the literature of our native country. You have shown to all who shall hereafter attempt the study of our ancient authors, the way to success by directing them to the perusal of the books which those authors had read. Of this method Hughes and men much greater than Hughes, seem never to have thought. The reason why the authours who are yet read, of the sixteenth century, are so little understood, is that they are read alone, and no help is borrowed from those who lived with them, or before them.' Boswell's Johnson, Hill Ed. I, 270.

2- Warburton's Letters, No. CLVII, Nov. 30, 1762. Works, XIII, 338

3- Walpole to Warton, October 30, 1767. Walpole's Letters, Toynbee Ed. VII, 144.

defects of the English language, parallel passages and learned citation; and he reached the height of inadequacy when he thus commended Warton's Learning, 'Upon the whole Mr. Warton seems to have studied this author with much attention, and has obliged us with no bad prelude for the edition, of which he advises us.[1] His acquaintance with our earliest writers must have qualified him with such a relish of the Anglo-Saxon dialect, as few poets, since Prior, seem to have imbibed.'

Two years after the first edition of the Observations, appeared a scurrilous anonymous pamphlet, 'The Observer Observ'd, or Remarks on a certain curious Tract, intitl'd, Observations of the Faiere Queene of Spencer, by Thomas Warton, A.M.etc,' which deserved the harsh treatment it received at the hands of the reviewers.[2] Warton had hinted at two editions of Spenser about to be published; one of them appeared in 1758, the fate of the other is unknown. If we may judge from 'An Impartial Estimate of the Rev. Mr. Upton's Notes on the Fairy Queen'[3] this edition owed very much to Warton's Observations. But his edition has very slight value, and made no contribution to Spenserian study.

It would seem that Warton's contemporaries did not discover the dose of romanticism he administered under the thin

1- Upton's Edition, probably. There is ample evidence in Johnson's letters and Warton's comments upon them, as well as his own manuscript notes in his copy of Spenser's Works (In the British Museum) that he intended a companion work of remarks on the best of Spenser's works, but this made so little progress that it cannot have been generally known. See Boswell's Johnson, I, 276.

2- Mon. Rev. July, 1756, XV, 90. Crit. Rev. May, 1756, I, 374.

3- Cirt. Rev. July 1759, VIII, 82.

coating of pseudo-classical criticism[1] and swallowed the whole, attributing the uneasiness which followed to everything but the right cause. The cure however was working rapidly, and when the very romantic "Letters on Chivalry and Romance" of Warton's disciple, Hurd, appeared, they were not only greeted with no great protest, but credited with having influenced Warton to greater tolerance of romance and chivalry.[2] This unjust conclusion was derived no doubt from the tone of greater confidence that Hurd was able to assume. Following Warton's impulse to the study of mediaeval institutions, and the appreciation of mediaeval literature, romanticism had made rapid progress, the most noteworthy advance

1- While even Dr. Johnson had only praise for the Observations, Joseph Warton's'Essay on Pope', on the whole a less revolutionary piece of criticism, touched a more sensitive point. He found the essay instructive, and recommended it as a 'just specimen of literary moderation.' (Johnson's Works, Ed. 1825, V, 670) but as an attack on the reputation of the favourite Augustan poet, its drift was evident, and pernicious. This heresy was for him an explanation of Warton's delay in continuing it. 'I suppose he finds himself a little disappointed in not having been able to persuade the world to be of his opinion as to Pope.' (Boswell's Life, Hill Ed. i, 448.)

2- It is perfectly evident however to anyone who will investigate the matter at all that the debt does not lie on that side. Hurd's Letters and the second edition of the Observations appeared in the same year, which would almost conclusively preclude any borrowings from the first for the second. But Warton's first edition, eight years before, had enough of chivalry and romance to kindle a mind in sympathy. Hurd was a less thorough student of the old romances themselves than Warton was. He seems to have known them only at second hand, probably through Sainte Palaye's "Memoirs sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie" (1750-81) for he said 'Not that I shall make a merit with you of having perused these barbarous volumes myself...Thanks to the curiosity of certain painful collectors, this knowledge may be obtained at a cheaper rate. And I think it sufficient to refer you to a learned and very elaborate memoir of a French writer.' (IV, IV, 260) quoted from it. See Appendix C.

being Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope.[1] This very remarkable book was the first extensive and serious attack upon Pope's supremacy as a poet, and it is credited with two very important contributions to romanticism: the overthrow of Pope and his school; and the substitution of new models, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and the modern school;[1] it contained the first explicit statement of the romantic doctrines of poetry.[2] Following the lead then of

1- Joseph Warton placed Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, 'our only three sublime and pathetic poets' in the first class, at the head of English poets. The object of the essay was to determine Pope's place in the list. 'I revere the memory of Pope', he said, 'I respect and honour his abilities; but I do not think him at the head of his profession. In other words, in that species of poetry wherein Pope excelled, he is superior to all mankind; and I only say, that this species of poetry is not the most excellent one of the art.' (Dedication i - ii) The sublime and the pathetic are the two chief nerves of all genuine poetry. What is there transcendently sublime or pathetic in Pope? (Did. vi) After a careful examination of all Pope's works, Joseph Warton assigned him the highest place in the second class, below Milton and above Dryden. He was given a place above other modern English poets because of the 'excellencies of his works in general, and taken all together; for there are parts and passages in other modern authors, in Young and Thomson, for instance, equal to any of Pope, and he has written nothing in a strain so truly sublime as the Bard of Gray." II, 405. References are to the fifth edition. 2 Vols. 1806.

2- The first volume of Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope appeared in 1756 two years after the Observations. It is an application of some of the same theories that Thomas had applied to Spenser and the older poets, to the reigning favourite, Pope, with the result that Pope is shown to be not only not the greatest, but not even in the first class of poets. Thomas Warton had showed that imagination and sublimity are essential qualities of the best poetry; that the decline in English poetry began when they gave place to correctness, conceit and mere moralizing. He also recognized the value of realism in description; that 'that poet is much better enabled to describe, who copies from living objects, than he who describes in a later age, from tradition! (II, 181) These are the main points in Joseph's essay; the superiority of imagination, sublimity, pathos, to clearness, correctness, didacticism (Ded. ii, vii); the necessity of painting with the eye on the object (I, 47). Though its iconoclasm was more apparent, the later essay made little advance in the way of new theory upon the earlier one, and there is rather more of hedging in the discussion of Pope than in that of Spenser. The greater variety of revolutionary dicta enunciated by the younger brother, and his greater activity in promulgating them, lead us to regard him as the more original thinker of the two.

both the Wartons, Hurd sharpened the distinction between the prevailing pseudo-classical school of poetry and what he called the Gothic; insisted upon the independence of its standards; and even maintained the superiority of its subjects.[1] In all this however he made no real departures from Warton, the difference being one of emphasis; Hurd gave an important impetus to the movement his master had begun. It is surprising that with all his modernity, his exaltation of the growing school of imaginative poets, he lacked Warton's faith in his school; he had no forward view, but looked back on the past with regret, and toward the future without hope.[2]

From this time on the movement was almost wholly a poetical one. Spenser's position as the poet's poet was established. He was no longer regarded judicially as an admirable poet, who unfortunately chose inferior models for verse and form in which to clothe his moral; but was enthusiastically adopted as an inexhaustible source of poetic inspiration,--of imagination, of charming imagery, of rich color, of elusive mystery, of melodious verse. Spenser's poetry has been the fountain of Agannippè for a

1- May there not be something in the Gothic Romances peculiarly suited to the views of a genius, and to the ends of poetry?' Hurd, I, IV, 239. 'Under this idea then of a Gothic, not a classical poem, the Fairy Queen is to be read and criticized.' VII, IV, 292. 'So far as the heroic and the Gothic manners are the same, the pictures of each...must be equally entertaining. But I go further, and maintain that the circumstances in which they differ are clearly to the advantage of the Gothic designers...could Homer have seen...the manners of the feudal ages, I make no doubt but he would certainly have preferred the latter, 'because of 'the improved gallantry of the Gothic Knights and the superior solemnity of their superstitions.' VI, IV, 280.

2- Hurd's Letters, XII, IV, 350.

long line of the most brilliant poets of the romantic triumph, from Thomson to Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson; and it has so diffused its influence throughout English poetry as to become an indistinguishable part of the whole.

The chief importance of Warton's Observations on the Fairy Queen to the study of English literature is not, however, the impulse it gave to the Spenserian movement so much as the great and salutary change it wrought in criticism. It is practically impossible to exaggerate Warton's importance as an innovator in criticism. He first treated literature as complex rather than simple, and had wide enough knowledge to get that bird's eye sight of the whole which is given only to real genius. Warton first appreciated and made use of the historical method of criticism, judging an author's work with respect to the conditions which influenced its production. He first showed that the literature of the age of Pope was not really classical, that it was not really derived from that of Greece and Rome, that it was only an artificial forced, pseudo-classicism, because it lacked the spirit of the middle ages and of humanity at large.

And recognizing these things, Warton taught these valuable lessons to English criticism. That the pseudo-classical age of Anne, in narrowing the limits of its interest and excluding the romantic spirit of the Middle Ages, had, at the same time, excluded something of the true classical spirit, which they had retained. That English literature had its origin not so much in Greece and Rome of antiquity, as in Germany, France, Ireland, Italy of the Middle Ages; that it developed according to laws of its own, quite independent of, and quite as legitimate as, the classical rules. That the great critic must look at English literature, at any

literature with that broad, cosmopolitan view, that sees each, not as a separate and independent development, but as a part of a great and interrelated whole. That he will then take a larger view of each single work of art, regarding it in its relation to the national literature of which it is a part. That a just critic must judge an author's work in the light of the author's purpose and environment. That the critic worthy of the name will bring human sympathy to his task as well as wide knowledge of the literatures of all ages, having first divested himself of the prejudice of rules and of preconceived standards. All of these qualities and abilities Thomas Warton possessed in a conspicuous degree, and all of these critical tenets he was able so to enforce upon his and succeeding ages as to become the first of a line of substantial critics who combined the best of the classical and romantic traditions.

Perhaps the crowning--at least the culminating--glory of Warton's first piece of critical writing is his keen delight in the task. Addison had praised and popularized criticism, but with reservations; and most people - even until recent times (if indeed the idea has now wholly disappeared from the earth)-would agree with Warton that the 'business of criticism is commonly laborious and dry.' Yet he affirms that his work 'has proved a most agreeable task;' that it has 'more frequently amused than fatigued (his) attention;' and that 'much of the pleasure that Spenser experienced in composing the Fairy Queen, must, in some measure, be shared by his commentator; and the critic, on this occasion, may speak in the words,and with the rapture, of the poet.

"The layes through which my weary steppes I guyde,
In this delightfull land of faerie,
Are so exceeding spacious and wyde,
And sprinkled with such sweet varietie
Of all that pleasant is to ear or eye,
That I nigh ravisht with rare thoughts delight,
My tedious travel do forget thereby:
And when I gin to feele decay of might
It strength to me supplies, and cheares my dulled spright."

IV

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

THE FLOWERING OF ROMANCE.

Thomas Warton's 'History of English Poetry'[1] is accurately described as the first such history. In the two centuries before it appeared a number of works bearing more or less upon the subject - discourses on English poetry with some account of the lives of the poets, and collections of the lives of the famous men of England including the poets - had preceded it. But the small number of such attempts is not so striking as the pitiful quality of even the best results. The Elizabethan apologies and panegyrics, in which first appeared any attempt at a survey of the field of English poetry, were signs of the birth of that feeling of nationalism in England, which grew steadily throughout the next century, clashing frequently with the always strong reverence for the classics, and finally flowed into the romantic movement in the next. There was no consistent or even continuous development of studies in English poetry, no doubt because of the predominance of classical standards in the study of poetry and the busyness of men of letters with other matters.

What passed in the seventeenth century for a history of poetry was a sort of miscellany or compendium of anecdotes of the lives of the poets arranged alphabetically rather than chronologically; the amount of space which was devoted to each poet determined, not by

1 - The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are prefixed two Dissertations: I. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe. II. On the Introduction of Learning into England. 4° 3 vols. London, 1774, 1778, 1781. Volume III contains an additional dissertation on the Gesta Romanorum.

his importance, but by the amount of material at the compiler's elbow (we cannot believe he looked far afield); with no historical background or perspective, and absolutely no critical value; what interest there was centered in the poet, not in his poetry. The tradition of Philips, Winstanley and Langbaine was accurately carried on in the next century by Jacob, Tanner and Cibber, whose 'dictionaries of poets' differed not at all from the catalogues from which they were copied. There was in all of them not even the skeleton of a history of poetry; there were merely a few dry bones.

Two abortive attempts at a history of poetry along quite different lines were made by poets of Warton's century: by Pope and Gray. The outlines of both of them came to Warton's attention while he was at work upon his own history, and he thought fit to adopt a different plan. Pope, in outlining the History of English Poetry, began with the Provençal poets as its originators, and divided the English poets who followed into six main classes or schools, according to what he considered the dominating influence: the schools of Provence; of Chaucer; of Petrarch; of Dante; of Spenser and Italian sonnets; and of Donne. Gray adopted Pope's sketch as the basis of his own plan.[1] As might be expected from Gray's interest in Welsh and Norse poetry, he added an introduction in which Celtic, Gothic[2] and Latin

1- The history proper began with the school of Provence about the twelfth century, and was continued in four main divisions:- the school of Chaucer and the first Italian school; the second Italian school; the school of Spenser, which ended in Milton, and was contemporaneous with a third Italian school; and the school of France, which included Waller, Dryden and Pope, and continued to Gray's own day.

2- 'Introduced into these islands by the Saxons and Danes.' Gray's plan sent in a letter to Warton, April 16, 1770.

poetry were to be considered in addition to Provençal as the sources of English poetry. The arrangement was only partly chronological, and scarcely more logical; an arbitrary grouping of the material is extremely dangerous, especially when based upon such slight knowledge as even the best scholars of the eighteenth century possessed. Gray as characteristically as wisely, abandoned the plan,- after making some studies of the origin of rhyme and ancient metre, some transcriptions from Lydgate manuscripts,and his Runic odes,- both because of the endless amount of labour the project would entail, and because he learned that Warton - whose abilities he very much esteemed - was engaged in a similar undertaking.

Warton rejected the classifications of Pope and Gray for a stricter chronological arrangement, for reasons which he set forth in his preface, and which appear to us just. They evidence his keen discernment of what the circumstances demanded. Warton realized that historical perspective, growth, the evolution of language, the relations between the literatures of various nations, these prime requisites of a history of poetry would be obscured in such a history as Pope and Gray had proposed. 'I have chose', he said, 'to exhibit the history of our poetry in a chronological series: not distributing my matter into detached articles, of periodical divisions, or of general heads. Yet I have not always adhered so scrupulously to the regularity of annals, but that I have often deviated into incidental digressions: and have sometimes stopped in the course of my career, for the sake of recapitulation, for the purpose of collecting scattered notices into a single and uniform point of view, for the more exact inspection of a topic which required a separate consideration, or for a comparative study of the poetry of other nations.'[1] The other

plan he thought plausible, brilliant in theory, but 'attended with difficulties and inconveniencies, and productive of embarrassment both to the reader and the writer. Like other ingenious systems, it sacrificed much useful intelligence to the observance of arrangement; and in place of that satisfaction which results from a cleanness and fulness of information, seemed only to substitute the merit of disposition, and the praise of contrivance.'[2]

To explore a new field with blinders limiting the vision, to approach a mass of entirely new material with an equipment of preconceived ideas, of theories based upon a limited and different experience, was repugnant to Warton's fair-minded conception of the purpose of historical study. The first essentials were an open mind and unhampered movement in every direction. And so he objected that 'the constraint imposed by a mechanical attention to this distribution, appeared to me to destroy that free exertion of research with which such a history ought to be executed, and not easily reconcileable with that complication, variety, and extent of materials, which it ought to comprehend.'[3]

A feeling of intense national pride joined with a spirit of genuine scholarship in shaping Warton's purpose to 'develope the dawnings of genius, and to pursue the progress of our national poetry, from a rude origin and obscure beginnings, to its perfection in a polished age.'[4] And there was added a broader interest in that, as the 'art of poetry has for its object human life', a history of poetry should preserve the 'most picturesque and expressive representa-

1- Preface, iii-iv.
2- Preface, v.
3- Preface, v.
4- Preface, ii.

tions of manners' and transmit 'the genuine delineations of life in its simplest stages.'[1] It was somewhat Warton's purpose and, one may anticipate, his achievement, to unfold the panorama of English poetry. As he himself said, 'my performance, in its present form, exhibits without transposition the gradual improvements of our poetry, at the same time that it uniformly represents the progression of our language.'[2]

Warton was however unable to begin his history at an earlier period than Pope or Gray had proposed, a fault of which he was conscious. His excuse, a very real one, was his ignorance of Anglo-Saxon, - of which all but a very few antiquarians of his day were also ignorant[3] - so that even the slightest study of the subject

1- Preface iii.
2- Preface v.
3- The study of Anglo Saxon has been comparatively recently taken up. None of the more prominent literary men of the eighteenth century knew either the language or the literature at first hand. Dr. Johnson was of the opinion that the Saxons had no alphabet when they came to England, and that both their written language and literature developed after the coming of Augustine and contact with the Roman language and literature; and he offered an extract from Alfred's Boethius as the 'first specimen of ancient English.' (Johnson's Dictionary 1755, History of the English Language.)While Bishop Percy controverted the absurd ethnology of Cluverius and Pelloutier, which confused Celtic and Teutonic, his specimens of the language to illustrate his theory show that his knowledge of it was extremely superficial. (Percy's preface to his translation of Mallet's 'Histoire de Dannemarc' as 'Northern Antiquities c. 1770) Gray, more scholarly than either Johnson or Percy, had not even mastered the Norse language as has been claimed for him; was probably ignorant of Celtic, and certainly knew no Anglo-Saxon. (Mr. Gosse E.M.L. Life of Gray p. 160 ff. claimed a mastery of the Norse language for Gray, but Prof. Kittredge has conclusively proved the contrary. See Gray's Knowledge of Old Norse. Appendix to W.L. Pheips' Selections from Gray. 1902.) Even Tyrwhitt, so eminent in the later field of Middle English, seems to have gained his acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon from Hickes. (Anglo-Saxon and Meso-Gothic Grammer, 1689, and Thesaurus 1703-5. The coupling of the quite dissimilar Teutonic languages, Anglo-Saxon and Meso-Gothic, was very unfortunate, but illustrative of t e prevailing ignorance.) Johnson's etymologies, so far as he supplied any were based upon the antiquated work of the seventeenth century philologists, Junius (Etymologum Anglicanum, printed in 1743 by Edward Lye, who prefixed

would have almost doubled a labour that was at best little short of Herculean. It is but natural, under the circumstances, that he should have considered the subject 'jejune' and 'intricate'; the poems, 'for the most part little more than religious rhapsodies'; that 'scarce any compositions remain marked with the native images of that people in their pagan state'; 'that Saxon poetry has no connection with subsequent poetry which was derived wholly from Norman sources after the conquest, 'when our national character began to dawn.'[1]

a grammar to it.) and Skinner (Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae, edited by Thomas Henshaw in 1671), with some borrowings from Hickes. Dr. Hickes seems to have made Anglo-Saxon studies somewhat the rage at Oxford (D.N.B. Art. Edmund Gibson by G.G.Perry) but no important results followed.

In the eighteenth century there was some slight interest in Anglo-Saxon among the antiquarians: Horne Tooke subverted his philological studies to the advancement of the philosophy of Hobbes and Locke (Diversions of Purley 1786); his knowledge cannot have been great, but he at least realized the necessity of studying Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, and knew more of them than most of his contemporaries, so that he could correct Johnson and Warton (Letter to Mr. Dunning, 1786); Owen Manning completed the Latin Anglo-Saxon and Gothic Dictioary (1772) begun by his friend Lye, and translated the Will of King Alfred from Thomas Astle's valuable collection of Anglo-Saxon and other manuscripts(1778). This field of study was so late in developing however that Sharon Turner (who was attracted to northern literature, and the study of the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon languages by Percy's Five Runic Pieces) was amazed at the neglect of the philology of those languages, and first exploited the study of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts for purposes of historical research. (History of England from the earliest period to the Norman Conquest. 1799-1805.)

The first appointment to the Rawlinson Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, endowed in 1750, was made in 1795, when Charles Mayo was elected. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was held by two distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholars: James Ingram, late president of Trinity College, editor of the Saxon Chronicle (1823); and John J. Conybeare, whose Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (1826) are quite in the spirit of Warton, though more illuminating in this particular field. Shortly before was published Bosworth's Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar (1823) still based upon the works of Hickes and Lye, but important for the interest it aroused in Englishmen in the early forms of their language. In 1838 Bosworth published his great work, the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, and from the earnings of this work he established a chair of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge in 1867.

1- Preface, vi.

But if this panorama was only partly unrolled, it was very richly adorned with copious selections from long-neglected poems. The value and importance of these is not immediately apparent to readers of the present age, to whom practically all of English literature is easily accessible in editions adapted to every degree of scholarship or the lack of it. It is a commonplace of literary history that the early eighteenth century was hopelessly ignorant of even the most obvious facts in the history of poetry, so that the greatest figures in that history were almost grotesquely represented upon a dismal background of ignorance and barbarism, while refined poetry was conceived as beginning with Mr. Waller.[1] Small wonder if criticism was inadequate, prejudiced, or only occasionally enlightened, when the material upon which intelligent criticism could alone be based was so generally unknown. There were to be sure a few learned antiquarians who collected old manuscripts and no doubt perused some of them,[2] but they were ridiculed by 'men of taste'[3] and their studies never claimed the popular eye. Warton's appeal in his preface was to both these classes, the antiquary and the man of taste, whom he enabled to meet upon a common ground.

It was his breadth of knowledge primarily, - his historical view of literature, his intimate acquaintance with the best literature of many ages, his numerous avenues of approach to the subject,

1- The geniuses of Milton and Shakespeare, of Spenser and Chaucer even, were recognized, but with a difference. They were admirable poets because, before the art of writing poetry was known, they produced unlooked-for beauties - both inexplicable and inimitable. But they were outside of the prevailing tradition. Rymer's discussion of Waller in the Short View of Tragedy (p.79) is a typical example.
2- Junius, Tanner, Coxeter, Farmer, Collins, and Astle were among those who had MS. collections of considerable value.
3- Johnson: Adventurer 119, Rambler 177.

that enabled Warton to revolutionize criticism by introducing a new and better method in his 'Observations on the Faerie Queen.' What Warton had done for Spenser he now made it possible for other critics to do for other poets by putting the great wealth of England's poetical past within the reach of all. No greater, no more opportune gift could have been offered at that time. Warton's history of English poetry does not satisfy present demands of such a history, but it was of incalculable value for the years 1774 to 1781. Yet this offering was made with apology and explanation of its very wealth. 'It will probably be remarked, that the citations in the first volume are numerous, and sometimes very prolix. But it should be remembered, that most of these are extracted from antient manuscript poems never before printed, and hitherto but little known. Nor was it easy to illustrate the darker and more distant periods of our poetry, without producing ample specimens. In the mean time, I hope to merit the thanks of the antiquarian, for enriching the stock of our early literature by these new accessions: and I trust I shall gratify the reader of taste, in having so frequently rescued from oblivion the rude inventions and irregular beauties of the heroic tale, or the romantic legend.'[1]

Warton's choice of a plan, as he outlined it in his preface, has been praised as an excellent one from the point of view of clearness, logic, and the natural development of the subject. These merits are not so apparent in the history itself, which seems to be quite lacking in orderliness. The historian permitted himself to be enticed from the logical development of his subject into all sorts of digressions and parenthetical discussions, sometimes many pages

1- Preface viii.

in length, by the leadings of his material:- a curious manuscript never before printed, which deserved long extracts; a satire on the mendicant friars, which suggested a discussion of the four orders; a reference to Greek fire, followed by an explanation of its nature and use; and, longest of all, two digressions on mysteries and moralities and the origin of the drama. These aberrations, interesting as many of them are in themselves, do indeed destroy the proportions of the work, and obscure the outlines of what was really a well-planned history. Classical scholar that he was, Warton lacked the Greek sense of form and proportion, and his great work has far less of the simplicity of the classics, than of the rich bewilderment of his favourite romances. In nothing is his romanticism more evident than in his 'History of English Poetry'. Warton is like a traveller exploring a new and delightful country, bewildered by enchanting by-ways diverging in all directions, so that , however constant the pointing of his compass, his progress is delayed by innumerable excursions. His exploration is neither thorough nor complete, but his guide book is both fascinating in itself and invaluable in pointing out the way for future travellers through the same land.

Later critics have railed at Warton's history not only on the score of lack of system, but because of inaccuracies of detail, and the unsatisfactory nature of ~~the~~ particular criticism. Such critics entirely miss the point. Even granting that their charges be true - they are certainly greatly exaggerated, - they detract little from the value of the history in its own day, or its importance in ours. Hazlitt said, 'It was his rare good fortune to be enabled to take possession of the field at a period when there was absolutely no

competitor in sight,'[1] and charged him with indolence, carelessness and ignorance, criticism which reflects more upon the critic than upon his subject. The most charitable view that can be taken of such comment is that its author failed to take any account of Warton's milieu. Looked at with the proper perspective his indolence becomes tremendous energy, his carelessness, scrupulous regard for detail, and his ignorance, astonishing breadth and accuracy of information, and surprising felicity of conjecture. The task that Warton undertook was beyond the accomplishment of any other one man in that age, and one that few men since have ventured upon. The emendations that many of the best scholars (of this particular sort) of the last century and a half have been accumulating about Warton's text,[2] are far less numerous and important than some of them would have us believe. As to his criticism, which has been censured for coldness and inadequacy it should be noted that Warton's intention was to be the historian, not the critic, of English poetry, that his purpose was rather to present than to interpret the progress of his subject.

It is extremely difficult to present to a public that neither reads nor respects that historian a just idea of Warton's History, without either glozing over faults which do not destroy its almost inestimable value, or so dwelling upon them as to do that very thing. Between the conflicting methods of exposition which present themselves, it seems best to steer a middle course as far as possible, and to avoid both the tendency of the eighteenth century magazine re-

1- Hazlitt's edition of Warton's History. 4vols. London 1871. Preface, vi.
2- See bibliography.

viewers[1] to the section-by-section-summary-with-extract method, - which has at least the merit of impartiality, and the temptation to recast the whole, rejecting that material which has been superseded by later research, and rearranging the remainder into a coherent mass which should contain the kernel of the whole. Neither of these methods would revealthe real Warton. I have therefore retained the author's principal divisions of his work, devoting one chapter to each volume of his history. I follow in general his order of presentation, omitting such details as obviously cannot be included and would not affect a general estimate of the whole, and subordinating digressions as far as possible.

By way of clearing the way for his history proper, and to atone in some degree for the omission of the earlier periods, Warton thought it proper to preface his first volume with two Dissertations, in which he considered 'in a connected and comprehensive detail, some material points of a general and preliminary nature, and which could not either with equal propriety or convenience be introduced, at least not so formally discussed, in the body of the book; to establish certain fundamental principles to which frequent appeals might occasionally be made, and to clear the way for various observations arising in the course of my future enquiries.'[2] The dissertations that precede the first volume are 'On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe', and 'On the Introduction of Learning into Eng-

1- Gentlemen's Magazine, vols. XLIV, pp. 370, 425, 466; XLVIII, 201, 225, 269; LI, 181, 229, 265; LII, 16, 527, 571, 575; LIII, 42, 45, 126, 281, 416, 585, 765. Monthly Review, L, 49-63; LI, 289-97; LIX, 132, 211; LXVI, 81-6, 162. Critical Review, XXXVII, 435-448; XLV, 321-330, 417-425; LI, 321, 330; LII, 15-23, 108-114.
2- Preface viii.

land'. To the third volume was prefixed a third dissertation 'On the Gesta Romanorum'. While it must be admitted that Warton's treatment of these subjects now appears somewhat inadequate, - they involve problems which have engaged some of the most careful scholars to the present day, yet are not wholly solved - this is scarcely to be held against him. It was beyond the power of any single man - especially a scholar of the eighteenth century - to conduct the research necessary for arriving at entirely satisfactory conclusions, and such things are not given by inspiration, even the inspiration of genius.

As the subject-matter of the first dissertation is more closely related to the theme of the first volume of the history, for the sake of unity I shall discuss the other two first. The second dissertation, 'On the Introduction of Learning in England', is crammed with valuable facts concerning the history of learning in England from the fifth to the eleventh centuries when the history proper begins. These facts, presented as Warton presented them, are of greater interest to the antiquarian than to the man of taste, but they had then at least the charm of novelty. Adopting the then prevalent Arabian theory,[1] Warton credited the Moorish settlers in Spain with having restored the 'antient philosophical sciences in Europe' after the decay of literature consequent upon the northern invasion, and with having passed on to Western Europe the torch that had been kindled in Greece. Warton touched upon this theory somewhat lightly, and proceeded to the main purpose of his dissertation, to review the state and progress of learning in England before the Conquest. He discussed at considerable length the learned bishops sent from Rome, and their equally learned native pupils and co-workers, and

1- See p.198.

the monastic schools and libraries they founded; the flourishing period of letters in the eighth century, and the subsequent decline until fresh impetus was given by William the Conqueror's patronage of letters, and the learned Norman prelates he brought into England with him. Theodore, Adrian, Benedict Biscop, Lanfranc, Anselm, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Roger Hoveden, Giraldus Cambrensis, Robert Grosseteste (Warton called him Grosthed): these and many other names of early scholars and promoters of learning Warton introduced in no small number of cases for the first time - to the polite men of letters of the eighteenth century, to such dilettantes as Horace Walpole.

Warton's attitude toward the decay of literature which followed close upon this promising dawn of polite letters and rational knowledge is both interesting and significant. It was his belief that imagination is a more prominent factor than reason in the production of great poetry. Therefore, as the tendency of this first literature was almost wholly intellectual, he rejoiced that the time was not ripe for refinements of learning, and that, when these early and premature attempts at literature failed to produce any permanent effects, the imagination was allowed to develop under the favourable conditions of partial ignorance and superstition, and finally to flower in the mediaeval romances. 'Perhaps inventive poetry lost nothing by this relapse', he said. 'Had classical taste and judgment been now established, imagination would have suffered, and too early a check would have been given to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. In a word, truth and reason would have chased before their time those spectres of illusive fancy, so pleasing to the imagination, which delight to hover in the gloom of

ignorance and superstition, and which form so considerable a part of the poetry of the succeeding centuries.'[1]

The third dissertation, on the Gesta Romanorum, gives to that mediaeval story-book an importance disproportionate to that given to other single works, and to its intrinsic value. But regarded apart from its connection with the whole history, the essay is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of mediaeval literature. Warton's method of procedure is admirable and illustrates his sense of the close relation between literature and life. He first discussed the genre to which the Gesta Romanorum, considered as a whole, belongs, as one very popular in the middle ages when it was necessary to convey instruction of all sorts by means of illustrative tales. Warton pointed out that the church fathers, trading upon the natural fondness of the people for the romances of chivalry, used them as models for legends of the saints and moral apologues, which, introduced even into the church service, served at the same time to arouse and to instruct the people. This custom, he realized, was based upon the same ignorance and superstition which had made it necessary in the earlier stages of christianity, to introduce 'the visible pomp of theatrical ceremonies'[2] into religious

1- Dissertation II.
2- III. ii. The close connection between religious and romantic fiction is discussed again (Ch. p.). In this dissertation Warton ~~again~~ recurred to the subject, with a reflection upon the church for adhering to absurdities which literature had discarded as the people outgrew them . 'The genius of romance and of popery was the same; and both were strengthened by the recipro cation of a similar spirit of credulity. The dragons and the castles of the one, were of a piece with the visions and pretended miracles of the other.

many of the absurdities of the catholic religion were perhaps ....in some degree necessary in the early ages of the church, on account of the ignorance of the people: .....But when the world became wiser, these mummeries should have been abolished..... The advocates of the papal communion do not consider, that in a cultivated age, abounding with every species of knowledge, they continue

worship.

Among many extant collections of such stories,[1] Warton found the Gesta Romanorum to have been a great favourite, and, after its days of usefulness as a book of moral instruction, an important influence not only upon much of our older poetry, but upon later poets as well. And it was its importance as a source-book that constituted its claim upon the historian of English poetry. Warton recognized the very miscellaneous character of the work, both as to substance and source of tales, but saw that they were all brought to a common level by the moral lesson involved in or added to them. In giving a detailed analysis of the stories included in the collection, it was Warton's purpose to make it distinctly usable; to furnish a sufficiently concise summary to 'direct the critical antiquarian to this collection, in case he should find a similar tale occurring in any of our old poets;' to supply illustrative material when necessary; to point out the sources of the tales; and to compare the versions there given with reworkings by later poets. The discussion of this mediaeval source-book is characteristic of War-

to retain those fooleries which were calculated only for Christians in a condition of barbarism, and of which the use now no longer subsists.'

1- These mediaeval story-books are discussed in connection with Gower's Confessio Amantis, vol. II. 9-16, and a list of them there cited. (See infra p. 229) Modern scholars are not inclined to agree with Warton that Petrus Berchorius was the author of the compilation known as Gesta Romanorum. The statement of Solomon Glassius (In the Philologia Sacra, 1623, he says that Petrus Berchorius was the author of a similar compilation called Gesta Romanorum.) is not in itself conclusive, and requires stronger confirmation than Warton or any one else has been able to give; so that the authorship of this collection must remain an open question unless new information on the subject is brought to light. (See Douce, Illustrations of Shakespeare n. ed. 1839. pp. 527-531.)

ton's usual method of treating every literary work in its largest aspect, in its relation to literature as a whole.

In the first dissertation, on the romances, Warton was dealing with a subject which always fascinated him, and which he first gave the importance it deserved in an historical study of English literature. Warton's theory of the origin of romance in Europe, as given in this dissertation, is marred by the absurd and fanciful ethnologies advanced by the seventeenth and eighteenth century scholars, upon which it was necessarily based. Without the solid foundation now supplied by the recently developed sciences of comparative philology and anthropology, earlier scholars had recourse to vague theories based upon superficial resemblances that now seem unworthy of serious attention. These prevalent misconceptions Warton naturally accepted, so that much of his theory of romance is now antiquated, though, as usual, many details are singularly correct and illuminating.

Warton thus summarized his theory of romantic[1] fiction, 'Amid the gloom of superstition, in an age of the grossest ignorance and credulity, a taste for the wonders of oriental fiction was introduced by the Arabians into Europe, many countries of which were already seasoned to a reception of its extravagancies, by means of the poetry of the Gothic scalds, who perhaps originally derived their ideas from the same fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of the troubadours and minstrels, seem

1- Warton used the term romantic here as a derivative of romance, that kind of fictitious verse tale characteristic of mediaeval literature. In this sense he said it 'was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome.'

to have centered about the eleventh century in the ideal histories of Turpin[1] and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious atchievement of Charlemagne and King Arthur, when they formed the ground-work of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the Crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arouse, which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser.'[2]

Here Warton was following at the same time Huet,[3] and Mallet[4] and Percy,[5] modifying the theory of these latter to combine it with his own. Huet had derived romance from the Eastern nations by way of the Saracen occupation of Spain, from where they spread to France and were disseminated from the university of Paris into Italy and England. Mallet was inclined to regard the Scandinavians as the dominating influence in the history of European manners and insti-

1- ... 'A fabulous history ascribed to Turpin', Diss. I. (17, 18).
2- Dissertation I. vol. I. (p.1) The pages of the dissertations are not numbered in the first and second editions (quarto) of volume I.
3- Huet, Daniel: Lettre sur l'Origine des Romances, Paris, 1670-72. Translated into English by Stephen Lewis in 1715 as the History of Romances, An Enquiry into their Original: etc. (Warton's references are not to this edition.) Huet's theory was adopted practically entire by warburton in his discourse on the origin, character, etc., of romance, at the end of Love's Labour's Lost in his edition of Shakespeare, 1747.
4- Mallet, Paul Henri: Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc, 1755. Translated into English by Thomas Percy, as Northern Antiquities; or a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes. 1770. Mallet is to be credited with beginning the interest in Northern mythology and literature, so potent an influence in the romantic movement. Gray seized upon his work at once, praising it in a letter Mason in1758, and Scott cited it as a reference half a century later in notes to the Lay of the Last Minstrel.
5- Percy, Thomas: Preface to the translation of Mallet's history, and Reliques of Ancient Poetry, 1765. Essay on the Ancient Minstrels.

tutions.[1] Warton very skilfully and plausibly combined the two theories, assuming first a migration from Scythia just before the Christian era, of Goths headed by Odin, who settled in Scandinavia, whence they descended upon the various parts of Europe. The Saxons who invaded England in the sixth century he regarded as part of these Asiatic-Scandinavians. Poetry of highly imaginative kind was in high repute among these people,[2] he said, and was carried by their scalds or bards to nearby coasts.[3] Those who went to England were Christianized before the seventh century, and most of their extant poetry is moral or religious;[4] those who remained in the north remained pagan and retained their original manners, wildness of fancy, and impetuosity of passions much longer. The second period of contact with oriental influence, from the Arabians in Spain, was continued by the third, the period of the Crusades. These latter were the most important, but they succeeded so well because the ground was already prepared. It was probably during the second period, according to Warton, that the two earliest extant specimens of romance, the tales of Arthur and of Charlemagne, first took form, and through many similar inventions were imported at

1- Mallet's Preface. p. 55. Northern Antiquities, translated by Percy. Ed. Blackwell. 1847.
2- 'Their poetry contained not only praises of their heroes, but their popular traditions and religious rites, and was filled with those fictions which the most exaggerated pagan superstition would naturally implant in the wild imaginations of an Asiatic people. And from this principle alone, I mean of their ~~of their~~ Asiatic origin, some critics would at once account for a certain capricious spirit of extravagance, and those bold eccentric conceptions which so strongly distinguish the old northern poetry.' Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry. Diss. I. (29).
3- 'These Scandinavian bards appear to have been esteemed and entertained in other countries besides their own, and by that means to have probably communicated their fictions to various parts of Europe.' Diss. I. (32).
4- Warton mentions the Anglo-Saxon poem of Judith.

the time of the Crusades, they contributed rather to increase than diminish their popularity.

As to the beginnings of poetry itself Warton was conservative. For him its origin was shrouded in just such obscurity as Burke found enveloping the origin of government. While Warton was surprisingly modern in his recognition of the rude beginnings of poetry, he did not recognize any real distinction between art and folk poetry such as many modern scholars insist upon. He considered poetry as a literary product, involving poets or makers, but in close touch with the life of the people to whom it belonged. He clearly implies that narrative material could progress from popular belief into oral poetry, and thence into the literature of a nation.[1] The poetic gift, he thought might be pretty freely bestowed at some periods, but it was a gift, a gift for the elect, and not the common property of all men in a savage or 'natural' state.[2]

Modern scholarship owes many an unacknowledged debt to Warton, for theories which he advanced on a very slight basis of observation but with the inspired vision of positive genius, and which later research has amply justified. In addition to his very clear recognition of the existence of oral poetry is his even more happily con-

1- Dissertation I. (1).
2- Diss. I. (31-2). Rousseau's theory of the origin of poetry in the spontaneous metrical expression of intense emotion (Discours sur les Artes et les Sciences, Paris 1754) was echoed without acknowledgement, by Dr. John Brown in his History of the Rise and Progress of Poetry. Newcastle, 1764. IN this theory poetry was represented as arising simultaneously with music and the dance in the religious and other assemblies of savage peoples. Dr. Brown's application of the theory was singularly narrow. In this way Greek poetry arose, subsequent poetry is but imitative of that in a descending scale. Small wonder then that modern poetry which imitates through the medium of Roman poetry is so 'inferior not only to the original, but the first copy.' p, 266.

jectured theory of the gradual building up of long romances from the artistic combination of previously existing shorter poems or tales. Of such a nature, as he supposed, was that tantalizing history of the kings of Britain which Walter of Oxford [1] gave to Geoffrey of Monmouth. 'I am inclined to think', he said. 'that the work consists of fables thrown out by different rhapsodists at different times, which afterwards were collected and digested into an entire history, and perhaps with new decorations of fancy added by the compiler, who most probably was one of the professed bards, or rather a poetical historian, of Armorica or Basse Bretagne.' [2] Warton conceived that in the metrical romances so composed were to be found the only traces of those tales of romantic and martial adventure with which the minstrels and harpers must have entertained the Anglo-Norman lords. In discussing those tales he said, 'I have been much disappointed in my searches after the metrical tales which must have perished, together with the stately castles in whose halls they were sung. Yet they are not so totally lost as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them still partly exist in the old English metrical romances..yet divested of their original form, published by repeated transcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original composition.' [3]

1- Warton seems to have had no doubt of the existence of Walter of Oxford, and of his 'book'.
2- I, 38.
3- Dissertation 1,(9) Warton recognized Bretagne as an ancient centre and source of romance. He observed the close connection between Wales and Bretagne after the migration of many Welsh to that country after the Roman invasion of Britain, and the vitality of Celtic characteristics and traditions there. In this long continued intercourse between the two countries, with its inevitable effects upon manners and literature, Warton found an explanation for the presence of British heroes and the preservation of British legend in old French romances, and the existence of more ancient romances of Bretagne than of any other part of France. Diss.I. 3-9, 40 and vol. III, 476.

Later editors and commentators, such as Ritson, Wright, Price and Hallitt, have found much to cavil at in this dissertation. But they have committed the usual fault of Warton critics of not taking into consideration the state of scholarship in his day. In many points there are slight inaccuracies, the Arabian theory has been entirely superseded, the essay is ill-arranged and illogical; but the first two faults were practically unavoidable at the time the essay was written, and the poor arrangment is attended with so much valuable detail as to be easily overlooked. As before indicated, the necessary data for arriving at correct theories were almost unknown:-the affinities of languages - the very language themselves; the relations between the different races of men between different people of the same race, more particularly. between Teuton and Celt, and between the various Teutonic nations. All this is a relatively new field of study, in which the research of the present age is still busy, and in which no doubt a very great deal yet remains to be done. With the necessary allowance for his handicap, we must recognize that, in spite of the inevitable supersedence of his theory, Warton had a positive genius for pointing out ways by which subsequent scholars were to obtain valuable results.

When we turn from the dissertations to the history proper, we find that Warton's account of the earlier periods of English literature suffers somewhat from his ignorance of Anglo-Saxon. His divisions of the 'Saxon' language as he called it, are therefore inexact in nomenclature and time limits, and he could only mention a few 'Danish-Saxon' poems, such as Beowulf, the 'Brithnoth' fragment, the poetical paraphrases of Genesis and Daniel, and tell in what manuscript they are to be found. But within the

limits which he set himself - beginning with the eleventh century, he shows a knowledge of the field surprising for his day, and increasing as he approached the later periods. His pages abound in long extracts from early poems, many of the treasures of the early English period were here represented in print for the first time:- the favorite lyrics 'Lenten is come with love to toune', 'Alison,' 'Blow northern wynde;'[1] Copious excerpts from the 'Lives of the Saints', the 'Hule and Nightengale,' 'Manuel de Peche,' and the 'Land of Cokayne.'

Warton's unfamiliarity with Anglo-Saxon did not prevent him from recognizing the antiquity of the art of poetry, and the part this earliest poetry must have played in the development of middle English poetry. The variety in the metre and rhyme of this poetry impressed our historian as showing that the art had been greatly cultivated and much poetry written before the period from which most extant poetry dates.[2]

Tales of chivalry, or metrical romances, were always dear to our romantic historian, and he devoted a great deal of space to a discussion of their introduction into England, and to long analyses and extracts from them. Originating with the Saracens or Arabians, he said they were fostered by the troubadours of Provence; became the favorite poetry of the French court; were thence propagated in England, where they were 'much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical Chronicles of

1-'Sumer is icumen' was added among the Emendations to the first volume, bound with volume II, in 1778.
2- History of English Poetry, I, 32.

Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne.[1] Warton was inclined, with Percy, to date the 'remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compositions which we discover to have taken place at some early period between the French and English Minstrels' as early as the reign of Richard I (1189-99). 'The same set of phrases, the same species of characters, incidents and adventures, and often the identical stories: he said,'were found in the metrical romances of both nations. From close connection and constant intercourse, the traditions and champions of our kingdom were equally known in the other: and although Bevis and Guy were English heroes, yet on these principles this circumstance by no means destroys the supposition, that their atchievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude English songs, might first be wrought into romance by the French. And it seems probable, that we continued for some time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours.'[2]

In addition to the ability here manifested to deal with comparative literature, and the recognition of the very close relation between French and English literatures at the period when metrical romances were first written, one notices, despite sweeping accusations of inaccuracy, that Warton showed a very

1- Warten perceived and pointed out that these were all modelled more or less closely upon Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin prose Chronicle: the most important were the Chronicles of Robert of Glancester and Robert (Mannying) of Brunne, and Wace of Jersey's (Le Brut'. (Warton confused Wace or Gasse with Geoffrey Gaimar, and thought Eustace - a variant of the name Wace - a different person, and the author of the first version of the story. I 62) The substitution of stories at least partly fictitious, and usually wholly so, was given a considerable impetus by the prevalence of such marvelous books of adventure as Mandeville's 'Voiage and Travailes' and the 'De Mirabilibus Hiberniae' of Giraldus Cambrensis, and more especially by the introduction and increase of chivalry. I, 103, 109.
2- I, 145.

correct knowledge of the romances themselves. He was able to recognize the 'Geste of King Horn' as the most ancient English metrical romance, and roughly dated it as evidently written after the crusades had begun. He discovered, too, the very old French version in manuscript, from which he drew the now discredited, but certainly intelligent, conclusion that it was probably a translation, and used in support of his theory that the English romances were pretty generally translated from the French.[1]

More valuable to his contemporaries, if less so to us, were the fascinating specimens of the old romances:- 'Richard Coeur de Leon', 'Sir Guy", the 'Squire of Low Degree', the 'Morte Arthur', and others which had long lain forgotten in dusty old manuscript collections. Not the least valuable result was the long series of modernizations of old romances which Warton no doubt partly suggested.[2] 'I could give many more ample specimens

1- The Geste of King Horn is now commonly thought to be older than 1300, and to have had English or Anglo-Saxon originals older than the French versions, though the theory that in general the earliest metrical romances were written in French (the material itself being of various origin) is still credited. Saintsbury The Flourishing of Romance. N.Y. 1907, p 206-7. Cambridge History of English Poetry, Ch. XIX. Metrical Romances 1200-1500 (W.P.Ker) pp 313-320.

2- Percy had made a similar suggestion in his Essay on the Ancient Metrical Romances,(printed in the Reliques, III, 359-77 ed.1891) and Ritson quoted part of this essay as a recommendation of his own work. In spite of ill-natured corrections of trifling errors Ritson, as well as Ellis and Weber, constantly refer to Warton's History as an authority on the old romances.
Ritson: Ancient English Metrical Romances. London 1802.
Ellis: Specimens of Early English Romances. 1805.
Weber: Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Edin 1810.
Utterson: Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry etc. 1817.
Hartshorne:Ancient Metrical Tales. 1829.
Much of this work was done later by the various societies for the publications of old manuscript, as the Surtees, Camden, Early English Text Society and others.

of the romantic poems of these nameless minstrels, who probably flourished before or about the reign of Edward the Second. But it is neither my inclination nor intention to write a catalogue or compile a miscellany. It is not to be expected that this work should be a general repository of our ancient poetry. I cannot help observing that English literature and English poetry suffer, while so many pieces of this kind still remain concealed and forgotten in our manuscript libraries. They contain in common with the prose romances....amusing images of ancient customs and institutions....and they preserve pure and unmixed, those fables of chivalry which formed the taste and awakened the imagination of our elder English classics. The Antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected these valuable remains, which they despised as false and fribolous; and employed their industry in reviewing obscure fragments, uninstructive morality or uninteresting history. But in the present age we are beginning to make ample amends: in which the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society.'

This taking into account those elusive but none less potent influences which shaped English poetry even before the time of Chaucer and the generally recognized poets, is characteristic of Warton's thoroughness, and distinguishes him from an age of critics who, whatever they may have thought of the poetic genius of the first English poets, denied them their due place in the development of English poetry, and entirely disregarded any influences upon them. Warton differs from every other critic of

1- I, 208.

his age - and even some of later times - in constantly regarding literature as a whole, as a continual stream of progress - with eddies and whirlpools and backwaters - but also with a steady and deep current, and with numberless tributaries. No detail that does not have its place in the great whole, that does not contribute its mite to the general development.

Toward the close of the flourishing period of romance, about the reign of Edward II, a few individual poets began to emerge. Besides the chronicles, and the still uncertain personage of Thomas of Ercceldoune, Warton mentioned a few faults before Chaucer, both of England and Scotland.[1] All of these were represented by long extracts and Langland received the fuller treatment which he deserved.

Perhaps, as Skeat suggested, Warton did not give a complete analysis of the 'Vision of Piers Plowman' viewed as a history of the religious life of man, and certainly there is no suggestion of multiple authorship, nor even a recognition of variant texts. But it is sufficiently gratifying that Warton did not call the poem 'Pierce Plowman's Visions', as Percy ignorantly did,[2] and that he selected extracts which illustrate the various powers of the poet.[3] The anonymous appendage to the Vision, called Pierce

1- The first are Adam Davie, author of the Life of Alexander, a romance, and some equally little-known religious poems; Robert Baston whom Edward II carried with him to the siege of Stirling Castle that he might celebrate that conquest as an eye-witness; Richard (Rolle), the Augustan friar of Hampole, whose most important work was the 'Prieke of Conscience'; (now called into question) and Robert Longlande (sic). The Scotch poets were both authors of heroic poems, John Barbour who wrote the History of Robert Bruce, and the blind bard Harry, who celebrated the exploits of William Wallace.

2- Percy - Discourse on the Alliterative Metre without Rhyme in Pierce Plowman's Visions. Reliques. Ed. Wheatly. 1891. Vol.II, 377ff.

3- I-266 - 286

Plowman's Crede, a humorous satire on the mendicant friars, he considered an evident but inferior imitation of the first poem. It gains undue prominence in the history from the digression on the four monastic orders which it suggested, and which the historian defended as 'in many respects connected with the general purport of (his) history,'[1] as indeed it was.

The extent of Warton's contributions to the history of the origins and development of English dramatic poetry has been generally overlooked. His reluctant disclaimer of any intention to discuss that species of poetry in his preface, is usually accepted as evidence that he adhered to his purpose. But his inability to resist temptations to illuminate related aspects of his subject in passing led him into this interesting and then neglected field. There are two digressions in the subject of early dramatic representatives, one in the first and one longer in the second volume of the history. For convenience and clearness I shall treat them together. Warton first discussed the ecclesiastical origin of the mysteries. 'We may observe,' he said, 'that the modern drama had its foundation in our religion, and that it was raised and supported by the clergy. The truth is, the members of the ecclesiastical societies were almost the only persons who could read, and their numbers easily furnished performers: they abounded in leisure, and their very relaxations were religious.'[2] But secular elements very soon appeared and in some cases usurped the whole play. The origin of religious drama was obscure; two

1- I, 288.
2- I, 249.

plausible theories had been suggested. One of them,[1] to which Warton inclined, took account of the jugglers, minstrels and buffoons who amused the people at fairs and similar large assemblies. The clergy, finding that their censures and interdictions had no effect, 'determined to take these recreations into their own hands.' They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the bible. This was the origin of second comedy.'[2] Voltaire's theory was [3] that religious plays came first from Constantinople, where they originated as both imitations of and counterattractions to the survivals there of Greek tragedy.

While Warton made no explicit attempt to reconcile these theories, which are by no means mutually exclusive, he clearly recognized the existence of early satirical spectacles of both kinds, and their early adoption by the ecclesiastics as modes of religious instruction.[4] The first dramatic exhibitions, the

1- Warton's source for this theory is not clear. He quotes 'a judicious French writer, now living, which may be Du Tilliot whose 'Memoirs pour servir à' l' histoire de la Fete de Faux etc. 1741, he had just cited in a note. II, 367 n.i. Malone seems to have been puzzled by this reference and asked Warton about it but the reply is not enlightening. T.W. to E.M. Sept. 30, 1789.... 'not having my History of English Poetry here, I cannot at present speak about the "Judicious French writer."' Unpublished letter. MSS. Additional No. 30378.
2- II, 367.
3- Voltaire:-Essais sur les Moeurs et l' Esprit des Nations.' 1756
4- His characteristic comment on the doubtful piety of these early mysteries is too good to be omitted. 'To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies, which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to view, it will not appear surprising, that the people, who were forbidden to read the events of the sacred history in the bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same time be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, sullied with impurities, and expressed in the language and gesticulations of the lowest farce. 'II, 373.)

miracle-plays, he said were 'totally destitute of invention or plan; they tamely represented stories according to the letter of scripture, or the respective legend.' But as they 'frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters...plays were at length formed consisting entirely of such personifications.' These were the moralities, and they contained some rudiments of a plot, character delineations, and representations of manners.

Warton recognized another factor in the development of the drama previously overlooked, the scholastic plays. 'In tracing the history of our stage, this early practice of performing plays in schools and universities has never been considered, as a circumstance instrumental to the growth and improvement of the drama. While the people were amused with Skelton's Trial of Simony, Bale's God's Promises, and Christ's Descent into Hell, the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of a legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama. And we may add while no settled or public theatres were known, and plays were chiefly acted by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility at Christmas, these literary societies supported some idea of a stage: they afforded the best accommodations for theatrical exhibitions, and were almost the only, certainly the most rational companies of players that existed.'[1] Before this time, in the reign of Edward III, Warton thought masques probably came into fashion. 'Amid these glowing elegancies and superfluities, foreign manners, especially of the French, were perpetually in-

1- II, 388-9.

creasing: and the native simplicity of the English people was perceptibly corrupted and effaced.... These shows...are symptoms of the rise of polished manners.'[1] This is as far as Warton carried this discussion, which he thus explained, ' I claim no other merit from this digression, than that of having collected some new anecdotes relating to the early state of the English and French stages, the originals of both which is intimately connected, from books and manuscripts not easily found, nor often examined. These hints may perhaps prove of some service to those who have leisure and inclination to examine this subject with more precision.'[2]

Just how important these hints were does not appear until one considers them in the light of the history of the study of dramatic literature before and since Warton's day. A few collections of old plays, such as Dodsley's in 1744, had been made, and some continuations or elaborations of Langbaine's Account, but these concerned themselves little or not at all with the beginning of the drama. Bishop Percy had made the most valuable contribution in this field before Warton's History in an Essay on the Origin of the English Stage,[3] to which Warton referred, quoting to some extent his ideas of the development of morality from mystery -- not the most valuable part of his own discussion.[4] Hawkins, although familiar with the theory of Valtaire, was quite unable to connect the mysteries of Constantinople with those prevalent in England, and contributed nothing valuable. So little

1- I, 255.
2- I, 250.
3- This essay appeared in the second edition, 1767, of the Reliques, and was amplified from Warton's History for subsequent editions.
4- Compare Percy's Essay, Reliques, ed. 1891 I,473 and Warton's History II. 388-9.

was accomplished in this field that Collier could lament that there was before 1831 no history of English dramatic poetry, and pay tribute to Warton as having furnished the most valuable information on the subject. But Collier's treatment of the subject was so incomplete and inaccurate that there has been ample room for quite recent scholarly work upon the subject of the mediaeval stage.[1]

Speaking of Warton's History with especial reference to the treatment of Chaucer, Professor Lounsburg said that the work is one which it will perhaps be always necessary to consult for its facts, its references, and its inferences; and though in many points it needs to be corrected, a long time will certainly elapse before it will be superseded...But while the substantial merits of the chapters on Chaucer need not be denied, they are very far from being perfectly satisfactory.'[2] The causes which he assigned for the defects in the work are both unjust and uncharitable:- desire to parade his own knowledge rather than to throw light upon

1- Dodsley: Select Collection of Old Plays. 1744.
Whincop: A List of all the Dramatic Authors etc. 8 Vols. 1747.
Coxeter: '1689-1747) an antiquarian of Warton's College Collected materials for a Biography of our Poets, some of which may have been communicated to Warton, but the subject indicates its probable nature.
Chetwood: The British Theatre..to which is prefixed a Short view of the Rise and Progress of the British Stage. 1750.
Chetwood: General History of the Stage. 1749. (Mostly modern)
Percy: Essay on the Origin of the English Stage. Percy's Reliques. Vol. I.
Baker, Reed and Stephens: Biographia Dramatica, 1764, 1782, 1812.
Hawkins: Origin of the English Drama, illustrated in its various Species. 3 Vols. 1773.
Malone: Historical Account of the English Stage. Shakespeare I. part II. 1790.
Scott: Ancient British Drama. 3 Vols. 1810.
Collier: History of English Dramatic Poetry to the time of Shakespeare. 1831.
2- Lounsbury: Studies in Chaucer, 3 Vols. 1891. III, 246.

the question under consideration, and an apologetic air that gives the 'Impression that he admired Chaucer greatly, and was ashamed of himself for having been caught in the act.' Professor Lounsbury has mistaken conciliation for ~~for~~ apology. Nothing is more evident to the unprejudiced reader of Warton than that he had more than the eighteenth century antiquary's boundless curiosity; that he was animated by genuine love of learning and real interest in making accessible to others the dark places in literary and social history; that as he would entirely fail of his purpose if he antagonized his public, he used every means to arouse in them the same ardent enthusiasm that he himself felt for those glorious periods of English poetry before their own elegant and polished age.

As has been so frequently remarked, Warton felt the value of representing the social as well as the literary environment and antecedents of the poets whom he discussed, in order that they might be properly understood. The eighteenth century gentlemen of taste despised Chaucer because, by an anachronism that passed over four centuries of literary activity and progress as if they were nothing, they insisted upon judging him by the same standards which they applied to Pope and Waller. Warton first realized the fallacy of this method, and adopted a new one which has been productive of the most gratifying results. He was not ignorant of the wide diversity in manners, customs and literary ideals of the two periods, and he made the necessary allowance for the difference. His procedure, when he had the necessary material, was, the environment, the man, the poet.

That Chaucer might be the more appreciated, Warton outlined with considerable insight the conditions and needs of poetry at

the time he appeared. 'As we are approaching Chaucer, let us stand still, and take a retrospect of the general manners. The natural manners still retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the most refined counts of Europe had often a mixture of barbarism, which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilized as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety...In the mean time it may seem surprising, that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages, should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone even if founded on truth, that will polish nations. For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not the head only that must be informed, but the heart must also be moved. Many classic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the scholars of that period wanted taste to read and admire them. The pathetic or sublime strokes of Virgil would be but little relished by theologists and metaphysicians.'[1] Upon this background Warton makes Chaucer appear as the brilliant student, the popular and favoured courtier and diplomat, the extensive traveller, and the polished man of the world, as well as the poet who, as Dr. Johnson had said , was the'first English versifier who wrote poetically.'[2] Familiarity with splendid processions and gallant carousals, with the practices and diversions of polite life,

1- I, 339-340.
2- Johnson's Dictionary. Pref. p i. Warton's History I, 431.

connections with the great at home, and personal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, as well as a knowledge of the classical writers, at first hand and through translation: all these things Warton realized, helped to mould the poetry of Chaucer.

Warton's knowledge of the comparative field of literature during the Middle Ages was much more thorough than he is sometimes credited with.[1] Although not the first to regard Provençal poetry as the source of the poetry of Western Europe,[2] Warton first realized the importance of this subject for the student of the early English Poets, especially Chaucer, and furnished a fairly adequate survey of it. His discussion of Provençal literature shows that he had studied the French and Italian antiquaries and historians [3] to good advantage and had gained a generally correct idea of its nature and influence. He discussed briefly but suggestively the moral and allegorical tendency of Provencal poetry, its mystical and conventional comceptions of love and the absurdities of the courts of love in connection with which it flourished, and pointed out its relation to classical poetry on the side of allegory.[4] Warton's study of the influence of this

1- Saintsbury: Flourishing of Romance. p 139.
2- Rymer had written a very limited discussion of the subject, but one surprisingly correct for his day., Short View of Tragedy, 1693. pp67-83. Pope and Gray, of course had some knowledge of the subject, as their plans for a history of poetry show. Pope indicated that he derived his ideas largely from Rymer.
3- See list of Warton's sources, Appendix C. have
Mant quoted a rumour to the effect that Warton might modelled his history upon L' Istoria della Volgar Poesia, by Crescembeni, 1731 (first published in 1698). Warton's Poetical Works. I,LXVIII.
4- I, 457.

highly developed poetry and the literature it produced in France and Italy, upon English poetry, and especially upon Chaucer, is much abler and fuller than any that had previously been attempted, and may still be read with pleasure and profit.

Warton was undoubtedly the first critic or historian to consider in any adequate way Chaucer's relations to his sources.[1] It must be acknowledged that in general he has anticipated all modern study of Chaucer from this important point of view, and that the work of modern scholars has not only superseded his, but has simply elaborated and enlarged upon his hints. He first gave any careful consideration of Chaucer's borrowings from French and Italian poems, and his manner of handling the material so derived. I shall not attempt to consider in detail the discussion of the various works of Chaucer which Warton treated at some length and with great minuteness, except so far as his comments illustrate his method and theory.

Warton's discovery of 'Le Teseide, as the source of the 'Knight's Tale' was an important contribution to Chaucer criticism, and certainly owed nothing to Thynne's similar

1- Rymer's Appreciation of Chaucer's debt to Italian poetry is surprisingly correct, though entirely general and very limited. Short Views. pp 78-9.

conclusion.[1] Both Dryden and Urry had recognized Chaucer's general indebtedness to Boccaccio on his own statements, but the nature and extent of the indebtedness had not been discussed before.[2] Warton's curiosity as to the probable source from which Boccaccio drew the story is indicative of his ruling passion to press every research as far as possible: it was a matter that deserves to be examined at large, and to be traced with accuracy.'[3]

It was not Warton's purpose, however, to reduce Chaucer to the level of a mere copyist. He dwelt much more on his free handling of borrowed material and his relatively new verse, which entitled him to be considered as an original poet even in those poems where he most closely followed his models. 'In passing

1- Francis Thynne's Animadversions etc. 1598--Chaucer Soc. ed. 1876 p.43. "Chaucer...taking his 'Knightes Tale' out of the Thesayde of Bocas, written in Italiane." Warton would certainly have referred to this had he known of it.

A note to Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer(p xxxix 1775 - but Tyrwhitt claimed (note to Pref. p I) that both his essay and introductory discourse had been printed before Warton's history appeared) says "It is so little a while since the world has been informed, that the Palamon and Arcite of Chaucer was taken from the Theseide of Boccace.", which, in the light of the first note, would seem to refer to Warton as the Author of the discovery. Joseph Warton in his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope expresses surprise that Chaucer's borrowing from Boccaccio should have been so long unobserved, since Niceron, in his Memoirs, published in 1736--a book which he says was well known, had given an abstract of the story of Palamon and Arcite and added, 'G. Chaucer, l' Homere de son pays a mis l' ouvrage de Boccace en vers Anglois.' 'I, 335 ed. 1806.) Neither Thos. Warton nor Tyrwhitt mentions this work, however. This passage in J. Warton's essay was firstinserted in an appendix to the third edition of his essay (1772-1782) and in the body of the fourth edition in 1782. The recent discovery of the source of Palamon and Arcite to which he refers, was, therefore, certainly Thomas Warton's. (Mr. David H. Nichols, of Columbia University, has looked up this passage for me in the various editions.)

2- The authority and adequacy of Warton's discussion is evidenced by the fact that Skeat refers his readers to this selection of Warton's History 'for further remarks on this Tale'. Skeat's Edition Chaucer's Works. 1894. III, 394.

3- I, 347.

through Chaucer's hands, (Le Tescide) has received many new beauties...those capital fictions and descriptions are so much heightened by the bold and spirited manner of the British bard, as to strike us with an air of originality. In the mean time it is to be remarked, that as Chaucer in some places has thrown in strokes of his own, so in others he has contracted the uninteresting and tedious prolixity of narrative, which he found in the Italian poet. And that he might avoid a servile imitation, and indulge himself as he pleased in an aribtrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarassments of Boccaccio's stanza, and preferred the English heroic couplet, of which this poem affords the first conspicuous example extant in our language.'[1]

Warton very justly appreciated the merits of the 'Knight's Tale' as poetry, an idea not only original but opposed to the prevailing opinion of the roughness of Chaucer's verse. 'We are surprised,' he said, 'to find, in a poet a such antiquity, numbers so nervous and flowing: a circumstance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphrase of this poem the most animated and harmonious piece of versification in the English language.'[2]

Warton's admiration of the 'Knight's Tale' was partly based also upon that recognition of a standard for judging poetry other than the pseudo-classical one, that was so significant in his criticism of Spenser. The poem was indeed a general favorite --

1- I, 357.
2- I, 357.

no doubt owing to Dryden's paraphrase - but both Dryden and Urry had been careful to base their praise on its partial conformity to the demands of epic poetry. Warton made no such futile attempt; he frankly admitted that the rules were violated, and that the delight the poem aroused in the reader was due to its direct appeal to the imagination and feelings. I cannot leave the Knight's Tale without remarking, that the inventor of this poem, appears to have possessed considerable talents for the artificial construction of a story. It exhibits unexpected and striking turns of fortune; and abounds in those incidents which are calculated to strike the fancy by opening resources to sublime description, or interest the heart by pathetic situations. On this account, even without considering the poetical and exterior ornaments of the piece, we are hardly disgusted with the mixture of manners, the confusion of times, and the like violations of propriety, which his poem, in common with all others of its age, presents in almost every page.'[1] The justification of the reader's delight in such irregular beauties as a legitimate basis of critical appreciation was, of course, one of Warton's chief contributions to criticism.

Chaucer's debt to 'William of Lorris, and 'John of Meun,' had long been recognized, but no one before Warton had so sympathetically vitalized the relation between them. For him the 'Roman de la Rose' was exactly such a poem as must have been a favorite with Chaucer. 'No poet, before William of Lorris, either Italian or French, had delineated allegegorical personages in so

1- I, 367.

distinct and enlarged a style, or with such a fullness of characteristical attributes: nor had descriptive poetry selected such a variety of circumstances, and disclosed such an exuberance of embellishment, in forming agreeable representations of nature. On this account, we are surprised that Boileau should mention Villon as the first poet of France who drew form and order from the chaos of the old French romances...But the poetry of William of Lorris was not the poetry of Boileau.'[1] In his discussion of the'Romaunt of the Rose' Warton touched upon the subtle difference between the metaphysical delicacy of that Provençal ideal of love represented in Guillaume de Lorris, and the conventional formality of the later method of reducing the passion of love to a system, based upon Ovid's 'Art of Love'[2], which all modern students of Chaucer have to reckon with.

Troilus and Cressida received very scant treatment. A few notes upon its sources:- Lollius,[3] Dares Phrygius, Guido de Columna, Boccaccio, Petrarch and Ovid, and the comment that it is a poem of considerable merit, in which the vicissitudes of love are depicted in a strain of true poetry, with much pathos and

1- I, 382.
2- I, 383.
3- Warton's attitude toward the still unsolved mystery of Chaucer's Lollius is highly creditable. Both Speght and Urry had learnedly glossed him as an historiographer of Urbino. Warton referred to this supposition, but explained in a careful note (quoted by Skeat Ed. Chaucer III, 277.) that this could not be Chaucer's Lollius, and affirmed that the forms of proper names in Chaucer's manuscripts of this poem indicate that he was using an Italian original while he hinted that Lollius wrote in Latin. Lounsbury is quite unfair in blaming Warton for foisting Lollius of Urbino upon English literature. (Studies in Chaucer II, 407.)

simplicity of sentiment.'[1]

Recognition of the essential beauties of romantic poetry characterizes Warton's criticism of the 'House of Fame', a poem which he said abounded in 'great strokes of Gothic imagination, yet bordering often on the most ideal and capricious extravagance.'[2] To make even clearer how independent these qualities were of the regular beauties which fell under the sanction of the rules, he contrasted Chaucer's poem with Pope's 'elegant and harmonious' imitation of it. Pope, he said, 'had not only misrepresented the story, but marred the character of the poem. He has endeavoured to correct its extravagancies, by new refinements and additions of another cast: but he did not consider that extravagancies are essential to a poem of such a structure, and even constitute its beauties. An attempt to unite order and exactness of imagery with a subject formed on principles so professedly romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corinthian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I am walking among the modern monuments unsuitably placed in Westminster Abbey.'[3]

The Canterbury Tales naturally aroused Warton's enthusiasm. 'Nothing can be more ingeniously contrived than the occasion on which (they) are supposed to be recited,' wherein Chaucer far surpassed Boccaccio, whom he might be supposed to have been imitating.[4] He discussed a number of the best stories in some detail, giving sources, and illustrations and explanations of the text , and quoting short extracts which serve to illustrate Chaucer's varied poetical power rather than give a general idea

1- I, 385
2- I, 389
3- I, 396
4- I, 397-8

of a work which might be supposed to be fairly accessible,[1] though seldom read.

But while Warton was delighted with the romantic tales which composed the work, he also appreciated the matchless pageant of real people who constitute the dramatis personae of the Canterbury Tales. He recognized in Chaucer a keen student of human nature as well as a master story-teller. In the Canterbury Tales, he said, 'his knowledge of the world availed him in a peculiar degree, and enabled him to give such an accurate picture of antient manners, as no contemporary nation has transmitted to posterity. It is here that we view the pursuits and employments, the customs and diversions, of our ancestors, copied from the life, and represented with equal truth and spirit, by a judge of mankind, whose penetration qualified him to discern their foibles or discriminating peculiarities: and by an artist, who understood the proper selection of circumstances, and those predominant characteristics, which form a finished portrait. We are surprised to find, in so gross and ignorant an age, such talents for satire, and for observation on life: qualities which usually exert themselves at more civilized periods...These curious and valuable remains are specimens of Chaucer's narrative genius, unassisted and unalloyed. The figures are all British, and bear

1- Besides the early editions of the Canterbury Tales, which must have been rather rare, there were several editions of Chaucer's works, Thynne, 1532, (Stowe)1561; (Speght)1598 and 1687. These contained no critical work of any value whater. The critical matter in Urry's edition, 1721, was wholly conventional and obvious, and Dryden's Preface to the Fables, 1700 contributed nothing of much value. Tyrwhitt's really admirable edition with an Introductory Essay on his Language and Versification appeared in 1775-8. A note, prefacei, says that the essay was printed before Warton's History.

no suspicious signatures of classical, Italian, or French imitations. The characters of Theophrastus are not so lively, particular and appropriated.'[1]

There is even less of apology in Warton's general summary of Chaucer. He does indeed convey the impression that he admired him greatly, but he seems not only willing that his admiration may be known, but eager that it may be shared by the world in general. 'It is not my intention to dedicate a volume to Chaucer how much soever he may deserve it;...enough has been said to prove, that in elevation and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, he surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion:...his genius was universal, and adopted to themes of unbounded variety:....his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with human and propriety, than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity. In a word...he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language, and a national want of taste; and when to write verses at all, was regarded as a singular qualification.[2]

Warton looked upon and discussed Chaucer as the child of his age, the product of the brilliant and varied life of the fourteenth century, the heir of the imaginative beauties of mediaeval romance and the richness of the early renaissance. He saw in him also a creative genius who added to this heritage a spark of original invention and of human interest that fused them into a new and homogeneous whole, and made his borrowings from other

1- I, 435
2- I, 457

literatures distinctly his own. Warton realized and demonstrated that Chaucer was not only the flower of romance and of the renaissance but that he had also an independent and original force which contributed greatly to shape the literature of his own and succeeding generations. But at the same time he recognized Chaucer's superiority to his age and the inability of his successors to carry on the tradition he had begun.

It was therefore with reluctance that Warton turned from a period in which romantic and imaginative elements predominated, to one which saw their decay. While he could find some slight compensation for the neglect of romance and imagination in an increased interest in the various aspects of contemporary life, while he could conclude his first volume with a glance forward to the revival of learning,--'As knowledge and learning encrease, poetry begins to deal less in imagination: and these fantastic beings give way to real manners and living characters,'[1]-- he could not but regret the loss to pure poetry. He valued imagination as the sine qua non of poetry; he considered the manners of romance better suited to the fostering of this quality than even the fictions of classical antiquity[2], and believed that great poetry could not flourish in an age of reason. Although the first glory of romance and the early renaissance in English poetry was soon dimmed in a period of decadence, Warton realized that the spirit of imagination which distinguished it must be revived in a later renaissance of poetry, and would play an important part in every great poetic age.

1- I, 468.
2- I, 434.

V.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

CHAUCERIAN DECADENCE AND THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

Warton recognized two principal tendencies in the age of Chaucer and the period immediately following: the development of the language, and the decadence of 'imaginative' poetry as learning revived. As has been indicated before, he did not share in the general conception of Chaucer as an independent and isolated genius in a barren and unpoetical age, but regarded him as both the product and the moulder of his age. While he realized the inferiority of his contemporaries and successors, he appreciated at the same time, that they were subject to most of the same influences that had moulded Chaucer's genius, and that they played almost as important a part in the development of poetry during the fifteenth century. So the second volume of the 'History of English Poetry' is largely taken up with a discussion of these literary tendencies, and the poets who illustrate their development, and who were highly esteemed in their own day.

Warton's grasp of the very clear relation between political or social and literary history, which gave his criticism a broader scope than that of his contemporaries, enabled him to give a just account of the state of language at the beginning of the 15th century, yet without the accurate knowledge of philology that enabled Tyrwhitt to reach the same conclusion. It was the prevailing opinion

following upon the assertions of Verstegan,[1] and Skinner,[2] and others,[3] that Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve had 'corrupted the purity of the English language, by affecting to introduce so many foreign words and phrases;[4] that the English language was, in particular, greatly Frenchified by these writers. Dr. Johnson made a very mild remonstrance in the preface to his dictionary, but no doubt almost every one in the 18th Century who thought about the matter at all, accepted the old opinion which Tyrwhitt[5] and Warton first attempted to controvert. Warton realized that, so far from being an affectation this use of foreign words was naturally prevalent, thatthe poets used the language familiar to their readers. 'If we attend to the politics of the times, then we shall find these poets.... much less blameable in this respect, than the critics imagine.' The wars with France, the long residence of many noble families abroad, and the great number of French nobles at the English court, 'all these circumstances must have concurred to produce a perceptible change in

[1] Verstegan: Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities. 1605. 'Chaucer....was a great mingler of English with French'.

[2] Skinner: Etymological Dictionary, 1667-71.

[3] Peacham: Compleat Gentleman, 1622. 'Gower...affected altogether the French phrase and words, made himself too obscure to his reader.' Rymer: Short View of the Tragedy of the Last Age. 1693.

[4] II, 50.

[5] Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, prefixed to his edition of Chaucer, in 1775, was partly taken up with a refutation of this error. Tyrwhitt proceeded first, just as Warton did, to show that the introduction of French elements was due to other causes; he examined in some detail the Saxon and Norman elements; then proceeded to the most valuable part, showing how the French influence and the unsettled state of the language affected pronunciation and versification, and fimally removed the great stumbling block to the understanding of Chaucer's versification, by establishing the pronunciation of final e.

the language at the court. It is rational therefore''to suppose, that, instead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and fashionable modes of speech.....The contemporaries of these poets never complained of their obscurity.' Further, this introduction of foreign words was not only natural, but of great benefit to the language. And so Warton pointed out that if this period was less interesting in point of actual poetic output, it was not less important as a great period in the development and enrichment of our language. 'It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched! The English language owes its copiousness, elegance, and harmony, to these innovations.'[1]

In spite of improvements in language, Warton realized that the poets that immediately succeeded Chaucer seem rather relapsing into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification, and his flight of fancy.'[2] Without underrating Chaucer's genius nor unfairly belittling his successors, Warton dwelt on the inevitableness of the temporary return to partial gloom after the brilliance of Chaucer's genial spring day. 'It was not likely that a poet should soon arise equal to Chaucer; and it must be remembered, that the national distractions which ensued, had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion.'[3]

[1] II, 50.

[2] II, 51.

[3] II, 51.

In closing his first volume Warton expressed the idea that as learning advanced, romantic and imaginative poetry tended to disappear. This feeling was confirmed by his conception of the contrast between Gower's greater display of erudition than of invention and the native ability, though meagre learning of the minstrels. Warton saw clearly that the desire to display their newly acquired learning superseded, in the poetry of Chaucer's contemporaries and successors, who had not sufficient native genius to redeem such an error, the legitimate end of poetry, the appeal to the imagination and feelings, and therefore their word was often less genuinely poetical than that of the rude minstrels. 'It should be considered,' he said, 'that when books began to grow fashionable, and the reputation of learning conferred the highest honour, poets became ambitious of being thought scholars, and sacrificed their native powers of invention to the ostentation of displaying an extensive course of reading, and to the pride of profound erudition. On this account, the minstrels of these times, who were totally uneducated, and poured forth spontaneous rhymes in obedience to the workings of nature, often exhibit more genuine strokes of passion and imagination, than the professed poets. Chaucer is an exception to this observation, whose original feelings were too strong to be suppressed by books, and whose learning was overbalanced by genius.'[1]

[1] II, 31.

Among Chaucer's contemporaries Warton recognized Gower as easily first. And in discussing his poetry he fell neither into the error of absurdly exaggerating his merits, nor, by too close comparison with Chaucer, of equally absurdly underrating his importance. He realized, as every competent critic now realizes, that those who aim at tracing the influences under which the English language and literature developed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can (not) afford to leave Gower's English work out of account.'[1] Warton's estimate shows a just estimate of his intrinsic worth, his influence, and his position with regard to Chaucer, and the development of English poetry. 'If Chaucer had not existed, the compositions of John Gower, the next poet in succession, would alone have been sufficient to rescue the reign of Edward III and Richard II from the imputation of barbarism. His education was liberal and uncircumscribed, his course of reading extensive, and he tempered his severer studies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his national language, he labored to reform its irregularities, and to establish an English style. In these respects he resembled his friend and contemporary Chaucer, but he participated no considerable portion of Chaucer's spirit, imagination, and elegance. His language is tolerably perspicuous, and his versification often harmonious; but his poetry is of a grave and sententious turn. He has much good sense, solid reflection, and useful observation. But he is serious and didactic on all occasions; he possesses the tone of the scholar and the moralist on the most lively topics.'[2]

[1] Gower's Works. Ed. by G.C.Macaulay. 4 vols. Oxford, 1901. II, x.
[2] II, I.

In discussing Gower's chief claim to consideration in a history of English poetry, the 'Confessio Amantis',[1] Warton showed an extensive knowledge of the literary traditions of the period. He was able not only to remark Gower's obvious borrowing from Jean de Meun's part of the French 'Roman de la Rose', but to point out that the poem belonged to that large and important group of collections of shorter tales, which were so much the delight of readers of the Middle Ages. From a considerable familiarity with these huge story-books,[2] Warton analyzed their effect upon the development of literature, and showed how these 'commodious abridgements' of all sacred and profane authors, in which both classical and mediaeval stories were adapted to the taste of the times, tended to debase the art of composition because of their great inferiority in point of style to the original authors which they so generally superseded.

[1] Warton noted briefly the three facts of Gower's poetical work, but he very naturally realized that his reputation as a poet depended almost entirely upon his English work, and he therefore devoted his attention almost entirely to that. It is scarcely likely that he had seen the manuscript of the French work, 'Speculum Meditantis' for his references are to Bodleian MSS. N.E.F.6.9. and Fairfax 3, which contain the ballades and a long French poem "On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage', of which he gave a summary and short extracts. Warton was probably misled by Tanner's ambiguous reference to 'Une traitie selone les auctours,' which he took to refer to the 'Speculum'. Ellis in his 'Specimens of the Early English Poets' first pointed out the mistake, but Ritson, the intolerant critic of the inaccuracies of others, persisted in the error. Bibliographia Poetica, London, 1802. Corrections and Additional Notes, p.403. See also Todd's 'Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer.' London, 1810, p.112.

[2] The pantheon, or Memoriae Seculorum, and the Speculum Regum, of Godfrey of Viterbo, the Chronican Breve of Cossiodorus, the Cronica D'Isodoro, the Gesta Romanorum, and less general histories, such as Colonna's Romance of Troy, and the romance of Sir Lancelot, perhaps by Robert Borron. Warton permitted himself a short digression on the Gesta Romanorum, and the story of the caskets, which he found there - an interest that subsequently expanded into the dissertation on the subject in the third volume of the history.

But he saw, too, that they finally contributed to the revival of literary learning by recalling attention to the sources from which they were taken. 'By gradually weaning the minds of readers of monkish legends, they introduced a taste for real and rational history..and.. at length awakened a curiosity to obtain more accurate and authentic knowledge of important events by searching the original authors.'[1]

Warton's most original contribution to the study of Gower was, however, his discovery of the 'Cinquantes Balades.' These he found in a manuscript lent him by Lord Trentham, together with a number of known short poems of less importance. He recognized their intrinsic merit, and thought that they were at least equal to any other French sonnets of that period, and that no English poet had yet treated the passion of love with equal delicacy of sentiment and elegance of composition. He therefore transcribed extracts from them, selecting four of the balades.

In his discussion of Lydgate, a poet whom he was inclined to place next to Chaucer for his versatility and ease of versification, Warton made no such attempt as Ritson did, to enumerate the long list of poems attributed to Lydgate,[2] but contented himself with discussing the principal poems. He evidently attempted to do justice to a poet who 'moved with ease in every mode of composition,'yet

[1] II, 11.

[2] Warton was perfectly well aware of their great number! 'To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library' - and realized that to catalogue them was then less worth while than to present a just estimate of the poet and his best work. Ritson's list, in Biographia Literaria, was a valuable achievment for its time, though now largely superseded. H.N.McCracken: The Lydgate Canon, London, 1906, is the latest, though probably not the final work on the subject.

was 'naturally verbose and diffuse'; who was 'clear and fluent in phrase', but often 'tedious and languid.' With true poetic taste Warton managed to cull from the 'Lyfe of our Lady' a number of 'elegant and harmonious lines, which probably improved Lydgate's reputation, and which later readers who have struggled through his tedious pages have seldom found equalled, and never surpassed.[2]

Warton's discussion of the transformation wrought in the classical stories of Thebes and Troy in passing through the hands of the mediaeval poets and the work of Bury, is just the sort of study of literary heritages that makes the study of literature so fascinating.[3] And his perception and demonstration of the changes that these stories had undergone as they were transformed, by constant retellings by one mediaeval poet after another, form classical stories into mediaeval romances, reveal a really profound knowledge of this characteristic of the romances themselves, and of the habit of the poets of the middle ages to adopt to their purpose material from every source. Warton showed that classical story of the siege of Thebes, as it had come in contact with the romantic ma-

[2] Grays praise of Lydgate was somewhat extravagant; he quoted some lines which he declared entitled him to a place among the greatest poets, but mentioned the Life of our Lady only in a note, making no quotation from it. His Remarks on the Poems of Lydgate are among the few manuscript notes which he had made for his history of poetry published from his commonplace book in 1814 by T.J.Mathias. See Vol.II, p.65-80.

[3] This phase of the subject is neglected in modern editions. Erdemann; Lydgate's Siege of Thebes. E.E.I.S., E.S.no.108, 1911. Pergen: Lydgate's Troy Book. E.E.I.S., E.S.no. 97, 1906. vol.35. The general subject is of course discussed by Courthope, Saintsbury, and others in connection with romances based upon classical stories,- which is perhaps sufficient. Courthope: History of English Poetry. II, 321-333. Saintsbury: The English Chaucerians, in Cambridge History, II, 225-234.

terial of the middle ages, had lost its essentially classical characteristics and had assumed more and more the form and peculiarities of a mediaeval romance. It had become 'the Thebiad of a troubadour. The old classical tale of Thebes is here cloathed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of the Gothic species, and furnished with the descriptions, circumstances, and machineries of appropriated to a romance of chivalry.'[1] The story of Troy had undergone a similar romantic transformation. Warton showed that that favorite tale of ancient poets had accumulated about itself a multitude of Oriental fiction and Arabian traditions as well as touches of feudal manners and the practices of chivalry; it was easily accomodated to the prevailing mode, the ideas of romances.[2] He realized however, that it was not Lydgate, but probably the earlier poet, Guido de Collonna, who, making use of the already falsified story of Dares and Dictys, had given it most of its romantic additions; who had 'first filled the faint outlines of their fabulous history with the colourings of eastern fancy, and adorned their scanty forgeries with the gorgeous trappings of Gothic chivarly.'[3]

As Warton approached the middle of the fifteenth century, just before the introduction of printing into England, he found it necessary to pause and make a characteristic digression to consider an influence that had long been working upon English literature, the French translations of the Latin writers of the Christian era and of the earlier classical authors, which were almost as cur-

[1] II, 78. Lydgate, who wrote the Siege of Thebes, as an addition to the Canterbury Tales, when he was near fifty, added a further complication of manners, by closing the poem with an invocation to the Virgin Mary.
[2] II, 88.
[3] II, 91.

rent in England as in France. This digression displays a wide acquaintance with a great deal of European literature from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and exemplifies again Warton's hold upon the field of comparative literature of a period when it was especially important that this broader view should be taken. It must be admitted that Warton's knowledge of this period was broad rather than deep and that he had not gained any accurate knowledge of the language although he was quite familiar with the literature of the period. He made a rapid survey of the ecclesiastical and philosophical translations of the thirteenth century;[1] the more numerous and varied translations of the fourteenth century, religious and moral, historical and pseudo-scientific,[2] including a few classical authors;[3] the more entertaining but no less fabulous secular works which almost entirely superseded the religious narratives in the fifteenth century;[4] and concluded with a very able summary of the effect of these French translations in improving the English taste and preparing the way for a flood of English trans-

[1] Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica; Dares Phrygius's Seven Sages of Rome; Aristotle's Secretum Secretorium; Turpin's Charlemagne; Speculum Mundi, are some of the more familiar titles, II, 108-9.

[2] Gregory's Homilies and Dialogues; Austin's De Civitate Dei; Boethius's Corrolation; Voragine's Legenda Aurea; Vincent de Beauvais's Consolation; John of Salisbury's De Nergis Curialium (usually known by its first title, Policraticus) and others. II, 110-13.

[3] Bercheur's translations of Livy; Ovid's Metamorphoses (moralized); Cicero's Rhetorica; Aristotle's Problems, Ethics, and Politics; Xenophon's Cyropoedia (these last from Latin versions, of course) Ptolemy's Quadripertitum, II, 114-6.

[4] Cesar's Commentaries; Ovid; Metamorphoses; Tully's De Amicitia and De Senectuto; Hippocrates; Galen; the Iliad; Dicta Philosophorum (Englished by Lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton, 1497); Eneid; Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium and Decameron. II, 177-22.

lations of these and other authors.

Warton's strong sense of the continuity of literary progress, and the necessity for considering its steady development, made him seek in periods generally overlooked as barren, and therefore negligible, for the signs of later flourishing growth. And so he saw in the popularity in England of French translations of classical authors, the beginnings of the revival of learning, or at least the preparing of the way for it, at a much earlier period than was usually supposed. At a period when learning was at its lowest ebb, and the knowledge of Latin confined to a few ecclesiasts, but when the French language was almost as intelligible as English, Warton realized that it was of incalculable value that the classical authors should have become generally accessible in French versions. In this way the seeds of a national erudition were sown, and a popular taste formed. In this way Caxton was enabled to enrich English literature with many valuable versions of classical authors through the medium of French translations. And this, he realized, was the natural and necessary prelude for that 'great and universal revolution in literature.' When 'the English themselves began to turn their thoughts to translation.'[1]

The eighth section of the second volume of Warton's history is devoted to a discussion of the Chatterton-Rowley poems, that center of controversy which so disturbed the Society of Antiquaries. We cannot, of course, endorse Warton's judgment in including these forgeries in that period of his history to which their pretended

[1] II, 124. A miscellaneous chapter (VII) on Hardyng's Chronicle, digressions on the origin and history of the office of poet laureate, and the alchemists Norton and Ripley, contains nothing of great critical value, and therefore is given no discussion here.

author was ascribed. But in defense the historian's explanation is to be considered: 'As there is some degree of plausibility in the history of their discovery, as they possess considerable merit, and are held to be the real productions of Rowlie by many respectable critics; it is my duty to give them a place in this series of our poetry, if it was for no other reason than that the world might be furnished with an opportunity of examining their authenticity.' At the time this was written the poems were not accessible to the general public[1], and were known only to antiquarians in manuscript copies.[2] Horace Walpole had questioned their authenticity when

[1] Only two of the poems were printed before Tyrwhitt's anonymous edition, 'Poems supposed to have been written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley and others, in the Fifteenth Century', 1777. The second volume of Warton's history appeared in the following year, but there is no reason to doubt that this section had been, as he said, 'not only written but printed almost two years before' (Emendations to II, 64) when we remember that it was a common practice to send MS to the press as fast as it could be got ready. He must have known, however, that the edition was being prepared for Johnson knew of it in May, 1776, when he examined the Rowley MSS at Bristol, and satisfied himself of the imposture. (See Boswell, Hill Ed. III, 50, and Letters, I, 398 and 404. But Tyrwhitt was then a believer in the authenticity of the poems. (Nichols, Lit.Illus. I, 156). Walpole wrote in 1777, 'Mr. Tyrwhitt has at last published the Bristol poems. He does not give up the antiquity, yet fairly leaves everybody to ascribe them to Chatterton if they please.' (Letters, VI, 412). The appendix to prove that they were written entirely by Chatterton was added to the third edition in 1778.

[2] The unknown author of 'An examination of the poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, and William Cannynge. With a defense of the opinion of Mr. Warton.' (?1782) said, 'At the time Mr. Warton published his history, these poems were not published, only few were in possession of copies of them; the world at large was totally ignorant of their contents.....Even the industry of Mr. Warton could procure but few specimens of them when in manuscript: these known, were sufficient for him. He has painted out many marks of imposture, and has given his opinion -- that none of them were genuine.'

they were sent to him,[1] and Warton had called them probably spurious when submitted to him[2], but no adequate discussion of the question had been attempted. This Warton here had an opportunity of offering. 'I will endeavor; he said, 'not only to gratify the curiosity of the public on a subject that has long engaged the general attention, and has never yet been fairly or fully stated, but to supply the more inquisitive reader with every argument, both external and internal for determining the merits of this interesting controversy. I shall take the liberty to add my own opinion, on a point at least doubtful; but with the greatest deference to decisions of much higher authority,'[3]

[1] Walpole seems to have considered them genuine until his friends Mason and Gray, to whom he showed the MSS sent him by Chatterton, declared them forgeries. Dict. Nat. Biog. Art. Chatterton, by Chas. Kent. Goldsmith believed firmly in them. Bos. Life. III, 51.

[2] The Earl of Lichfield, and Chancellor of Oxford, submitted some of the poems to Warton sometime before September 1772 and was surprised at Warton's skepticism. (Warton- Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, London, 1782. p.1). In the same pamphlet Warton said in further defense of his position that not long after his second edition was published he 'had the satisfaction to see the same side of the question adopted and defended by the editor of the poems, in Observations on their Language, which appeared to me so decisive, as to preclude all future attempts to prove these pieces an original production of the fifteenth century.'p.6.

[3] II, 139. The higher authority may have been Tyrwhitt, who believed the poems genuine at this time.

Warton's impartial presentation of the question affords an illustration of his open-mindedness that is the more interesting because the conclusion at which he had arrived seems to have been unwelcome to him. Apparently he would have been glad to find that these remarkable poems were really the work of a monk of the fifteenth century. 'It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious. Ancient remains of English poetry, unexpectedly discovered, and fortunately rescued from a long oblivion, are contemplated with a degree of fond enthusiasm; exclusive of any real or intrinsic excellence, they afford those pleasures, arising from the idea of antiquity, which deeply interest the imagination. With these pleasures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more solid satisfaction, resulting from the detection of artifice and imposture.'[1]

His romantic imagination was kindled at the thought of poems hidden away for three hundred years in Canynge's chest in Radcliffe church, and accidentally discovered and rescued from wanton sacrifice to the utilitarian end of making writing-book covers. His love of antiquarian treasures was outraged at the thought of what might have been in this way lost to social and literary history. But fortunately the schoolmaster of Bristol was not without a taste for poetry, and his extraordinary talented son recognized the merits of the poems which he found, and full of high hopes, offered them to the world. The possibilities of this promising situation almost carried Warton into a belief in the story - but when he turned to the poems themselves, the illusion vanished.

[1]II, 164.

'I am of opinion that none of these poems are genuine,' he concluded, after several pages of quotations from the poems. Warton easily recognized the 'original' manuscript which Chatterton had submitted, as palpable forgeries[2], and the ancient spelling and obsolete words which he affected as not belonging to the fifteenth century and declared that the sentiments and cast of thought, the structure and style, were not ancient, but modern, 'such (poetry) I mean, as is written at this day, only disguised with antique spelling and phraseology.'[3] 'Rowlie might have been a scholar, an historian, an antiquary, a poet, but he could hardly have been the author of the poems ascribed to him.'

As his knowledge of the poems increased, Warton was more and more inclined to the opinion, 'that (they) were composed by the son of the schoolmaster.' But as the work of a boy of sixteen they were no less remarkable than as genuine fifteenth century poems. And Warton fully appreciated the poetical gift of their author, though his extravagant praise of his genius is most unusual in so moderate a critic. 'This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius; and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age.'[4]

[1] Yet Jeremiah Miller maintained the antiquity of all the poems, and said of this one that 'a greater variety of internal proofs may be produced for its authenticity than for that of any other piece in the whole collection.' Miller's contribution to the Chatterton controversy was unfortunate for his reputation as an antiquary. 'Poems supposed to have been Written at Bristol in the 10th Century, by Thomas Rowley, Priest, etc. (edited) by Jeremiah Miller, D.D., Dean of Exeter, 1782.

[2] Even the manuscript of Canynge's Feast was a forgery, and his will was found to contain none of the bequests described by Chatterton.

[3] 'A sufficient quantity of obsolete words and phrases were readily obtainable from the glossary to Chaucer, and Percy's Ballads.' II, 157. [4] II, 157. Charles Kent, in the Dict. Nat. Biog., erroneously ascribed this remark to Joseph Warton. Art. Chatterton.

Warton's position in the Chatterton controversy is the more creditable as it was reached not only in opposition to his inclination, but without the help of any thorough knowledge of the language of the fifteenth century, such as Tyrwhitt possessed. His criticism of Chatterton's affected obsolete words could only be based upon a superficial observation. Yet he not only based an objection upon this ground, but was able to cite some of the very books from which later scholars agree the young poet must have actually derived his remarkable vocabulary.[1]

In the emendations to the volume, which were written after Tyrwhitt's edition of the poems was published, but which appeared in the same year with the Appendix which definitely ascribed them to Chatterton, Warton added to his discussion of this question. He would not, he said, have given such copious specimens from the manuscripts had he not imagined they would be curiosities to his readers. Since their publication in more correct and complete form than he had previously seen them, he found his former opinion not only unchanged, but strengthened by new proofs. Looking at all the poems together, he was struck with their propriety and uniform poetical tone, while even the best of really ancient poems were marked with great inequality of sentiment and style. 'Chatterton seems to have thought, that the distinction of old from modern poetry consisted only in the use of old words. In counterfeiting the coins of a rude age, he did not forget the usual application of an artificial rust; but this disguise was not sufficient to conceal the elegance of the workmanship.'[2] Inconsistencies, anachronisms,

[1] W.W.Skeat in his edition of Chatterton has furnished an admirable discussion of the way Chatterton got his vocabulary and carried out his figures. II, xxiv-xxxvii.

[2] II Emendation, to p.164.

and the absence of such new details as we should expect in an old poem, also betrayed the forgery. As to the argument that the youth Chatterton could not have written such poems, even if Rowley did not, Warton called attention to close resemblances between his acknowledged forgeries, and the evidence of his precocity and taste for ancient manners and customs.

It would be useless to discuss here at any length a controversy which, though kept up with some stubbornness, was only possible because of the ignorance and gullibility of the Rowley supporters'.[1] The question of authenticity was practically settled from the start by every scholar of any competence - Gray, Malone, Johnson, Warton, Tyrwhitt. But there were a number of scholarly clergymen, so tenacious of a belief very scantily based upon external evidences only, that it became necessary for a final and decisive proof to be attempted by some competent authority. Two of the most learned men of the age, Warton and Tyrwhitt, offered to say this last word on the Chatterton controversy in 1782; and the efforts of both were of nearly equal effect at the time of their publication:[2] they convinced all who were open to conviction.

While Tyrwhitt was the only contributor to the controversy who had a real knowledge of the language of the fifteenth century sufficient to enable him to speak with accuracy and authority on the philological side of the question, that sort of agreement was not so conclusively recognized as final in an age of general ig-

[1] The best bibliography of the Chatterton controversy is in the edition by Henry D. Roberts in the Muses Library, London, 1906, xxvii-xxxi.

[2] Warton: An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley. In which the Arguments of the Dean of Exeter, and Mr. Bryant are examined. 1782. 2 editions in the same year. Tyrwhitt: Vindication of the Appendix to the Poems called Rowley's

norance of philology as it would be today. A proof that would convince the dilettante supporters of Rowley must be based upon the more obvious qualities of the poems which they could recognize. This was the sort of argument that Warton's pamphlet furnished. And so, while we recognize that Warton was incapable of dealing with the question as thoroughly as Tyrwhitt did, we must still credit his admirable pamphlet with being quite as important in settling the controversy in 1782 as Tyrwhitt's more scholarly one.

Whatever superiority Tyrwhitt showed as a philologist was equalled by Warton's superiority as a critic and student of literature, - a fact which has not always received due credit. He was able to compare the literary traditions and conditions of the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, and decide even without reference to specific language tests, to which period a group of poems belonged. 'Our arguments' he said, 'should be drawn from principles of taste, from analogical experiments, from a familiarity with antient poetry, and from the gradations of composition. Such a proof, excluding all impositions, liable to no deception, and proceeding upon abstracted truth, will be the surest demonstration.'[1] By this method, Warton easily demonstrated that the affiliations of the Rowley poems were altogether with the 16th century, and concluded the discussion thus, 'Upon the whole,....if there are such things as principles of analogy, if the rules which criticism has establisned for judging of the age of a poem, are beyond the ca-

in reply to the Answers of the Dean of Exeter, 1782.

[1] Enquiry, p.125.

price of conjecture, then are the Tragedy of Ella and the Battle of Hastings, modern compositions; if they are antient, then are the elegancies of Gibbon's style coeval with the deplorable prose of Caxton.'[1]

Unfortunately there have always been a few gullible people who delight to believe in the impossible and persist in keeping alive dead quarrels in the face of overwhelming evidence; so there were some who were not silenced by the arguments of Tyrwhitt and Warton, and prolonged a controversy in which there was no longer any general interest.[2]

After this long excursus[3] Warton returned to the discussion of the genuine poetry of the fifteenth century, the work of the last of the English Chaucerians, Stephen Hawes[4] and Alexander Barclay. While there is little in the discussion that merits attention here, his careful and scholarly study of these authors was extremely valuable in a century when they were almost entirely unknown. Unfortunately, Warton was led by Wynken de Worde's error in attributing

[1] Enquiry, p.90.

[2] The last contention for a nucleus of authentic 15th Century poetry, used by Chatterton, was an Essay by Dr. Maitland, 1859. D.N.B.

[3] The ninth section is extremely miscellaneous, an accumulation of learned details about early 16th century poets and others; Bertram Walton, author of a satire upon nuns; Benedict Burgh, who translated Cato's Morals; and a history of that work and its importance in early literature; Juliana Berners's tracts on Hawking, Hunting, and Armory; Ralph Hyden, whom Warton wrongly considered the author of the Chester Miracle Plays; Robert Fabyan, who inserted short poems in his prose Chronicle; an interesting anonymous translation from the French, the Kalendar of Shepherds, and in conclusion a discussion of religious and secular pageants during the reign of Henry VII, and their influence upon the drama.

[4] Thos. Wright, editor of the only modern edition of Pastime of Pleasure for Percy Soc. 1845, cited Warton as an authority on Hawes.

the 'Temple of Glass' to Hawes, to regard that poem as his best work.[1] He recognized Lydgate as Hawes's model, though the pupil improved upon the master, and he considered the 'Pastime of Pleasure' almost the only effort of imagination and invention which had yet appeared in our poetry since Chaucer.'[2] In his study of Barclay Warton dwelt upon the modernity of his language, and the sources of his satirical poem, the 'Ship of Fools' - Sebastian Brant's 'Narrenschiffe' and French and Latin translations of it. The most valuable part of it was, however, his numerous quotations from the eclogues, like all his work, which but for these selections, remained exceedingly inaccessible until late in the last century.[3]

[1] In his discussion of Lydgate (vol.I, 410-17) he had properly assigned the poem to that author. He declared that the picturesque invention which this poem contained belonged entirely to Chaucer and it was to be construed as a merit that a poet should depart from the dull taste of his time and choose so excellent a model.

[2] II, 219.

[3] They were first reprinted from the rare black-letter folio of 1570 for the Spenser Society, 1869. See also T.H.Jamieson, The Ship of Fools, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1874. Prefatory Note, I, vii.

[4] II, 247.

Although Warton had intended to confine his history strictly to English poetry, he was continually tempted to overstep his self-imposed limits to consider related fields in other literatures. And in particular, in the history of early sixteenth century literature, he found it necessary, as has every other historian of English poetry, to give an account of the Scottish poets who preserved the traditions of Chaucer as none of his English successors had been able to preserve it, and who 'adorned the present period with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate; more especially as they have left striking specimens of allegorical invention, a species of composition which appears to have been for some time almost totally extinguished in England.'[1]

This field had been at that time much neglected. There were besides the universal English histories, only the collection of biographies amassed by the too-patriotic Dempster,[2] and MacKenzie's 'shapeless mass of inert matter', yet full of valuable material.[3] The Scotch poets whom Warton thus included in his history were Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay.[4]

[1] II, 257.

[2] Dempster: Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum. Bologna, 1627.

[3] MacKenzie: The Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation: with an abstract and catalogue of their works, their various editions, 1708-22. Bale's Illustrium Maiorie's Britanniae Scriptorum, 1548-57-9 seems also to have been used in this section.

[4] To the preceding chapter belonged James I who was briefly discussed in a note (p.125) the plan for a discussion of Scotch poets not having been at that time made. Warton called his principal poem,

In Warton's treatment of the literary history of Scotland at this period, I shall notice in detail only two points, but these are of great interest and significance; the important experiment of turning Douglas's Prologue to May into prose, to show that its poetical quality did not depend upon the form; and his use of a new kind of criticism, which took into account racial characteristics. There is little of importance in the discussion of the allegorical poetry of the Scotch school beyond the remark, already quoted, that they continued that tradition longer and more ably than the English Chaucerians. In showing the importance of Douglas's 'Aeneid' as the first English metrical version of a classic'[1] and the high poetical value of the prologues, which showed 'that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry.' Warton made a real contribution to the general appreciation of a poem not unknown to his readers.[2] But by far the most significant part of this criticism was the treatment of the prologue just mentioned. Warton's experiment of placing a prose version in juxtaposition with the poem, to show the originality of the poet's genius, and the beauty of its poetical matter independent of its form, was a great stride in the direction of the romantic conception of poetry. It suggests Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction without its absurdities.

[1] 'Except of Boethius, who scarcely deserves that appellation.' II, 281.

[2] Two English versions of this prologue had appeared in 1752, one in the Scot's Magazine, by Jerome Stone, the other by Francis Fawkes. The latter was included in Original Poems and Translations. 1761. (It was reprinted for the Augerville Society, Edinburgh, 1885).

the 'King's Complaint' the subject was suggested by his own misfortunes' and the mode of composition from reading Boethius. The poem was a genuine find; it had not been mentioned by the historians whom Warton consulted.

This was a revolt against the too common tendency to regard poetry as almost nothing but a more of less skillful combination of poetic diction and metrical composition, but is certainly not to be interpreted as meaning that Warton went to the opposite extreme of regarding these things as non-essentials. It is certain that the proportion of genuine poetry to the whole verse output was never lower than in the first half, at least, of the 18th century. The artificial poetic diction and unvarying metres which the greatest poets of that period used to such telling effect were easily imitated by a host of poetasters, whose paltry verse exposes those faults of the theory which the skill of the masters concealed. In revolt against this artificiality, attempts were made to create variety by imitating other forms and introducing obsolete language. These met with the criticism from the pseudo-classical critics that not to write prose is not necessarily to write poetry[1]; though their

[1] Goldsmith: 'These misguided innovators have not been content with restoring antiquated words and phrases, but have indulged themselves in the most licentious transpositions, and the harshest constructions, vainly imagining that the more their writings are unlike prose, the more they resemble poetry.' Life of Parnell, Misc. Works, IV, 22.
Johnson: 'Collins affected the obsolete when it was not worthy of revival; and he puts his words out of the common order, seeming to think, with some later candidates for fame, that not to write prose is certainly to write poetry.' Boswell's Life, III, 159, n.2. But Johnson stood firmly for a theory of poetic diction which is distinct from that of prose, and such a poetic diction he regarded as one of the peculiar blessings of his century. 'There was before the time of Dryden no poetical diction, no system of words at once refined from the grossness of domestick use, and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts. Words too familiar, or too remote, defeat the purpose of a poet.... Those happy combinations of words which distinguish poetry from prose had been early attempted; we had few elegancies or flowers of speech.' Gray also recognized a firmly established poetic diction. 'our poetry....has a language peculiar to itself.' Letter to West, 1741 or 2. Works, Gosse ed. 1884, II, 108.

allegiance to Pope showed that the critics did not recognize in just what qualities the difference lay. Thomas and Joseph Warton[2] and Edward Young[3], however, went farther and exposed the inadequacy of the models, the failure of Pope and his school, to achieve the greatest possibilities of poetry. They realized, dimly perhaps at times, the dual yet unified nature of poetry; that it combines poetic substance and poetic form in an inseparable whole.

In paraphrasing Douglas's prologue as prose, Warton did not, I think, mean to imply that this form is quite as poetical as the verse form, but that its poetical quality does not depend solely upon the form. It would certainly have been dangerous to subject much of Queen Anne poetry to this test.

'The poetical beauties of this specimen will be relished by every reader who is fond of lively touches of fancy, and rural imagery. But the verses will have another merit with those critics who love to contemplate the progress of composition, and to mark the original workings of genuine nature; as they are the effusions of a mind not overlaid by the descriptions of other poets, but operating, by its own force and bias, in the delineation of a vernal

[1] T.Warton: Observations on the Fairie Queen. 2 vols. 1754-62.
J.Warton: Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope. 2 vols.1756-90.

[2] Young: Conjectures on Original Composition, 1759. This important piece of criticism, the product of Young's ripe age, is a strong appeal for originality and intelligent, use of the ancients. 'Il complète l'Essai sur le Geine et les Ecicts de Pope, comme une traité général complète une application individuelle et particulière. C'est moins une protestation contre les erreements de le génération dispome que le manifeste éclatante d'une évolution nouvelle et triomphante." W.Thomas: Le Paite Edward Young. Etude sur sa Vie et ses Oeuvres. Paris 1901.

landscape, on such objects as really occurred. On this account they deserve to be better understood, and I have therefore translated them into plain modern English prose.... This experiment will serve to prove their native excellence. Divested of poetic numbers and expression, they still retain their poetry, and ..... appear like Ulysses, still a king and conqueror, although disguised like a peasant.'[1]

The predominance of satire in the allegorical poetry of Scotland, so that such a poem as Lindsay's Complaint of the Paping became almost wholly an attack upon current abuses in church and state, led Warton to make some comments on the essential characteristics of the Scotch temper, which are not only acute in themselves, but important as an indication that Warton considered racial or national temper as a factor in moulding national literature. In taking into account the effect of such influences upon literary composition, as he so frequently did, Warton anticipated modern literary criticism in one of its most important aspects. He deserves the credit of introducing that method which Taine carried to such lengths.

The peculiarity which Warton commented upon in the Scotch temper was its philosophical or rationalistic cast, a disposition

[1] II, 287.

[2] There had been partial attempts to reach this method before Warton. As early as the close of the 17th century, critics of the school of taste - Dennis and Dryden in particular - had recognized the influence of climate and race upon literature to the extent of finding therein an explanation of the difference between Greek and English tragedy. But the method was not consistently employed at this time, with any realization of its value in literary history and criticism. See Dennis: The Impartial Critick, Introductory Letter, 1693. Dryden: Heads of an Answer to Rhymer. 1711.

almost without imagination, and unresponsive to any imaginative or sensuous appeal, which could be moved by force of reason alone.[1] In this characteristic racial temper Warton found the explanation of the ready adoption in Scotland of the severe reformed religion, and of the greater violence and abundance of satirical attacks upon the Roman faith. 'The Scotch' he said, 'from that philosophical and speculative cast which characterizes their national genius, were more zealous and early friends to a reformation of religion ~~th~~ than their neighbors in England. The pomp and elegance of the Catholic worship made no impression on a people, whose devotion sought only for solid edification; and who had no notion that the interposition of the senses could with any propriety be admitted to cooperate in an exercise of such a nature, which appealed to reason alone, and seemed to exclude all aids of the imagination. It was natural that such a people...should warmly prefer the servere and rigid plan of Calvin; and it is from this principle that we find most of their writers, at the restoration of learning, taking all occasions of censuring the absurdities of papery with an unusual degree of abhorrence and asperity.'[2]

The discussion of the Scotch poets closed with the usual hint that 'a well-executed history of the Scotch poetry from the 13th century, would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain. The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information, is highly deserving of a minute and regular research, and has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample.'[3]

[2] III, 321-3. ' See p 351.

[3] II,

Returning to English poetry, Warton found Skelton the only considerable poet of the reign of Henry VIII. His judgement of him shows that he had the 18th century insistence upon moral standards in criticism; he was disgusted with Skelton's coarseness, which was not to be excused as characteristic of his age: 'he would have been a writer without decorum at any period.' He recognized a kind of humour, but it was not sufficient, nor of a sort to atone for his faults.

For his metre Warton had only blame. His verse was forced and unnatural except when he wrote in his native vein, the motley measure peculiar to him. Without acknowledging the rude force of the measure as Skelton used it, Warton exposed its undeniable faults. With his usual breadth of view he pointed out Skelton's various literary relationships with the Italian Macaronic verses, Dunbar's Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy, the verses attributed to Golias,[1] and the somewhat later French satirist, Rabelais.

Besides Skelton's satirical power Warton recognized his gift of personification, of tincture of allegorizing, popular in his age. For illustration he pointed to his poem, 'The Bouge of Court' spirited personification of the seven sins of court; his less 'in the manner of a pageant', with its successful conventional allegory, the 'Crowne of Lawrell'; and his moral interludes, of which 'Magnificence' is the best known, while 'Nigramansir' has the interest of being known only through Warton's description of it.[2]

[1] Warton did not identify Golias with Walter Mapes, nor consider the latter the author of the Goliardic verse attributed to him. He seems to have regarded the mythical 'bishop Golias' as a real person, and a contemporary of Mapes.

[2] There has been no record of Nigramansir since Warton saw it in the library of a friend William Collins, at Chichester, not long

These moralities entitled Skelton to be viewed in a new light - that of dramatic poet. And Warton pointed out their considerable importance in the history of the drama as the first such plays to bear the name of their author.

before the latter's death in 1759. When the valuable collection that he had made for his intended 'History of the Restoration of Learning under Leo the Tenth' was dispersed, this unique volume seems to have wholly disappeared. But there is not, I think, any just reason for doubting Warton's honesty in this matter, on this account. The perfectly simple and straightforward account of the book which he gives, exactly of a piece with many others that are unquestionable, is, per se, more probable than Ritson's ill-natured accusation that he invented the whole account (Biographia Poetica 1802. p.106). Absence of motive for the deceit (Blakiston's is absurd, see below), Warton's general honesty, and effort to secure accuracy of detail and the probability that many volumes must have disappeared, their very titles being lost, incline us to accept Warton's statement for the existence in 1759 of the morality he described. Bliss defended Warton with the statement that he had so frequently seen and handled volumes mentioned by Warton and denied to exist by Ritson, that he had no doubt of the authenticity of the account. (Athen. Oxon. ed. 1613-20 with additions, by Philip Bliss, I, 530.

The incompatibility of the accounts of the date, size, and printers of the Magnificence text scarcely affects this matter. (See ed. for E.E.T.S. by R.L. Ramsay, Intro. xviii-xix, and note 2) while such confusion is certainly reprehensible, it is not a question of honesty, but of care. It is very easy to see how such mistakes could have been made. Probably the last reference (Emendations to p.363, vol.II) was the only one made from Warton's own observation; the others must have been either from memory, or, more probably, from an inaccurate communication.

Blakiston's accusations (Eng.Hist. Rev. XI, 282-300) that Warton forged documents for his Life of Pope, has been discussed here in connection with that work, (Chapter I, p[illegible]). It may be repeated here that it is more probable that Warton was the victim of a clever forgery, than guilty of deliberate imposture himself. And Blakiston's conjecture that he conceived the idea of imposing upon his antiquarian friends from the success of the Rowley poems, the authenticity of which he was defending in 1778, certainly shows no knowledge of Warton's connection with that controversy.

[1] page 249. One has but to compare Warton's philosophical analyses of the Scotch temper with Dr. Johnson's rather unreflecting contempt for it, to realize the modernity of Warton's attitude. Circumstances brought the Scotch notion to Johnson's attention with considerable frequency and force, but in all his comments upon them, he never sought an explanation of the difference he professed to feel.

The discussion of the classical renaissance and the reformation of religion in England is one of those digressions which show Warton's care to get the exact bearings of poetry with respect to contemporaneous social and political conditions. He realized that so vast a difference as appears between Mangry Skelton's 'breathless rhymes' and the languishing allegorical poetry and the first poetry of the English renaissance could be accounted for only by such a profound movement as actually took place throughout Christendom in the fifteenth century; and that in order that this change in poetry might be understood, it was necessary to describe the general outlines of that larger movement of which it was a part. In this long digression he did not lose sight of his purpose of writing a history of English poetry, and he was careful to show its relation to his subject.

Warton's attitude toward the renaissance is a somewhat contradictory combination of genuine classicism and ardent romanticism on the mediaeval side. Appreciating to the full the 'faultless models of Greece and Rome' and the immense gain in depth and breadth in English learning from contact with that older learning, he was still under the spell of the marvelous and delightful creation of the dark ages, and regarded their disappearance with regret. He evidently looked back to this important period of progress as the source of the sterile classical imitation which so prevailed in his own day.

I shall summarize very briefly Warton.s discussion of the restoration of learning in England in order to show his attitude. He first pointed out that the revival of learning in England was coincident with the introduction of printing, and that while the

latter tended to promote English composition both in prose and verse the former operated at first to impede its progress somewhat. It was a 'revolution the most fortunate and important in most other respects and the most interesting that occurs in the imigration of letters .... which, by directing the attention of ingenious men to new modes of thinking, and the culture of new languages, introduced a new course of study, and gave a temporary check to vernacular composition.'[1]

Warton saw in the renaissance more than the accidental result of the dispersion of Greek scholars from Constantinople. He perceived that it was a 'mighty deliverance after many imperfect and interrupted efforts in which the mouldering Gothic fabrics of false religion and false philosophy fell together;' that it was animated by 'that spirit of curiosity and discovery, which had not yet appeared in its full force and extent for want of an object,' and that finally, 'by the introduction of a new language and new books' it 'totally changed the state of letters in Europe.'[2] After tracing briefly its progress in Europe, Warton discussed in some detail the revival of learning in England, and its complementary movement, the reformation of religion, with their checks and ultimate triumphs, so that 'soon after the reign of Elizabeth, men attained that state of general improvement, and those situations with respect to literature and life, in which they have ever since persevered.'[3]

'But it remains' said Warton, 'to bring home and apply this change in the centiments of mankind, to our main subject.' And here Warton's romanticism appears with surprising strength and clearness. Here also he evidences a recognition of the distinction between romanticism and classicism at a time when the former had not yet become a conscious literary movement, and the latter was at first grips with an unknown antagonist. Warton was able to analyze clearly the characteristics, to point out the strength and weakness of each, to show how romantic fictions were the natural literary compositions of the middle ages, and how inevitably they disappeared as the study of the classics introduced method into composition, and substituted imitation by invention. This penetrating study of the struggle for supremacy between romanticism and classicism in the sixteenth century could only have been made by one who had fallen under the spell of the middle ages, and discovered the secret of their charm; by one who appreciated, at the same time, the colder beauties of the classics, and the undeniable value of regularity and order in some fields, if not in poetry. Warton's ability to look on both sides of the question, his clear perception and definition of the issues at stake, when his contemporaries were either groping purblindly toward a new romanticism, or clinging instinctively, rather than consciously, to the old pseudo-classicism, give his criticism a value and a significance that cannot be exaggerated.

In his study of the middle ages Warton recognized every element that was seized upon by even the most extreme romanticists, as a source of poetic inspiration, but without for a moment losing sight of their practical limitations. He realized the

poetical value of all of mediaeval life - its customs, institutions, traditions, and religion - the variety and richness, the very savagery and irregularity of the incidents and adventures of chivalry, and how powerfully they stimulated imagination poetry before the tacit compact of fashion, which promotes civility by diffusing habits of uniformity, and therefore destroys peculiarities of character and situation, had...yet operated upon life; nor had domestic convenience abolished unwieldy magnificence.'[1]

With Rousseau[2] who, however, lacked warton's steadying sense of the danger attending upon unrestrained indulgence in the pleasures of imagination, he hailed 'ignorance and superstition so opposite to the real interests of human society, (as) the parents of imagination.'[1] With Heine,[3] he perceived the romantic quality of the mediaeval religion, and the tremendous stimulus given to literature by the picturesque and poetical appendages of the Catholic worship, which 'disposed the mind to a state of deception; its visions, miracles, and legends, propagated a general propensity to the marvellnes, and strengthened the belief of spectres, demons, witches, and incantations.'[1] He felt, too, the romantic spell of the beautiful Gothic architecture, and realized the potent effect the marvellous churches of the middle ages must have had in impressing 'the soul with every false sensation of religious fear.'[1]

[1] II, 462.

[2] Discous sur les Sciences et les Arts. 1750.

[3] Die Romantische Schule, 1833.

Having thus acutely pointed out the close relation between romantic literature and 'these barbarities', Warton accepted its disappearance before the advance of reason and learning - of civilization, in fact - as inevitable. But he perceived, too, that the springs of poetical inspiration were closed. The check given to originality and invention by the progress of learning and rules of composition after the renaissance, taught Warton the valuable lesson, which, when it was learned by the poets of the 18th century, brought new life into English poetry by that reversion to the earlier sources of poetic inspiration, the romantic movement; the lesson that rule and judgment obscure genius; that imitation, that transcends reason. 'The study of the classics', he said, 'together with a colder magic and tamer mythology, introduced method into composition; and the universal ambition of rivalling those new patterns of excellence, the faultless models of Greece and Rome, produced that bane of invention, Imitation. Erudition was made to act upon genius. Fancy was weakened by reflection and philosophy. The fashion of treating every thing scientifically, applied speculation and theory to the arts of writing. Judgment was advanced above imagination, and rules of criticism were established. The brave eccentricities of original genius, and the daring hardiness of native thought, were intimidated by metaphysical sentiments of perfection and refinement.'[1]

While Warton was not indifferent to the obvious solid advantages of the revival of learning, the progress of science, of reason in general, he perceived that they fell without the field of pure poetry. He was willing to concede immense gains in 'good sense, good taste' and good criticism', but only at the sacrifice

[1] II,463

of good poetry. In the last analysis, from the point of view of the lover of poetry, he threw the weight of his final verdict on the side of romanticism, exalting the fictions of the imagination, the extravagancies of romance, above the cherished ideals of reason and propriety. With the enthusiasm of the most ardent romanticist, he voiced his regret for the vanished beauties of the middle ages. 'We have parted with extravagancies that are above propriety with incredibilities that are more acceptable than truth, and with fictions that are more valuable than reality.'

VI.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

DEFINITION OF THE GREAT POETIC AGE.

The period of English literature with which Warton began his third volume was one of the most neglected and least understood at the time the book was published. The poets of the early sixteenth century were but little known and not at all appreciated;[1] indeed the greatest poets of that century were just beginning to come into their own. When one reads Warton's discussion of the Italian Renaissance in England in the light of this fact, he is surprised at his conception of the larger outlines of the movement and his grasp

[1] Warton knew exactly the status and history of Surrey's and Wyatt's reputation and outlined it briefly (p.10-11). After mentioning the 16th Century appreciations, he noted that by 1674 Philips had said that Surrey's poetry was antiquated and totally forgotten. But he was praised by Waller and Fenton; and Pope in Windsor Forest compared his patron, Lond Granville, with Surrey, whom he much admired. Thereupon he was immediately reprinted (a), but without attracting many readers. 'It was vainly imagined, that all the world would eagerly wish to purchase the works of a neglected English poet, whom Pope had called the Granville of a former age.' (III,II). Warton was right, too, regarding general ignorance of them in his own day. Gray had written for his proposed History some Observations on English Metre in which he referred to the poetry of Wyatt and Surrey in connection with their use of the Caesura. (Wks, Gosse Ed, 1884, I, 333-4). In 'A Catalogue of Books,(being the libraries of Dr. J.Warton, T.Warton, and others)...to be sold by Thomas Payne (London, 1801, 4o), there is mentioned a copy of Surrey's poems edited by Percy and given to Warton by the editor. The article on Percy in the D.N.B. says that in 1763 Percy edited Surrey's Poems giving some account of early use of blank verse in England. But there is no copy of the edition in the British Museum and Nichol's testimony is that the edition was not completed. Lit. Anec. III, 161, and VIII, 585.

[a] By Sewell, 1717. Reprinted by Curl. ib. (Warton's note).

of its details. In the preceding volume he had developed the outlines of the Classical renaissance in Europe and England - the beginnings of the study and imitation of classical models. But turning to the study of English poetry at the beginning of the 16th Century when the classical renaissance had just begun in England, he found the dominant influence in poetry not Classical, but Italian and the definite classical influence relatively slow in asserting itself. England was however, in very close touch with Italy, where the renaissance had blossomed earlier, and the Italian vernacular poetry had an almost immediate effect upon English poetry. Petrarch was still the favorite poet of the Italians, and his elegant and conventionally passionate sonnets soon became equally fashionable at the English court, where the chivalrous manners and romantic ideals they described were admired and imitated.

Warton recognized Surrey and Wyatt as the first English poets to introduce the Italian fashion into England. Although Wyatt was the older, and the real pioneer, Warton gave Surrey the priority, no doubt because he was named most prominently by Tottel. Warton related the romantic story of his life very effectively, and always with reference to its bearing on his poetry. Brought up at court where ideas of chivalry still prevailed, and where his natural love of learning was encouraged; partly educated in Italy where his romantic passion for the fair Geraldine was fanned by the amorous sonnets of Petrarch and his Italian imitators, he fairly rivalled Sidney in knightly virtue; he was the most elegant traveler, the most polite lover, the most learned nobleman, and the most accomplished gentleman of his age.[1] He was the first of a long

[1] III, 8.

line of English poets who composed sequences of more or less conventional sonnets in praise of real or imaginary mistresses, in the Italian tradition.

Warton did not regard Surrey merely as an imitator; his poetry had a spontaniety and freshness quite its own, and escaped some of the defects of his master's, even though it often fell short also of its beauty. Warton contrasted the naturalness and greater simplicity of Surrey's sonnets with Petrarch's metaphysical cast and fondness for learned allusions and elaborate conceits, and thought he showed rather more of tenderness and genuine feeling. Petrarch, he thought, would have been a 'better poet had he been a worse scholar'[1] Yet Warton did not fail to recognize that Surrey's significance for English poetry was due in large measure to Petrarch's influence. There had been natural and beautiful love songs almost since the beginnings of English poetry; they had been the result of passion rather than art. Surrey gained from Petrarch enough of art-correctness of style and purity of expression - to become at the same time the 'first polite writer of love verses in our language', and the 'first English classical poet.'[2]

It is unfortunate that Warton did not recognize Wyatt's priority and leadership so that he could ave explained his inferior command of the new forms on the ground of his having no vernacular models. But if Wyatt's amorous poetry was over-strained and unnatural, Warton observed that it was because his genius was naturally of another cast, the moral and didactic, and 'his poems abound more in good sense, satire, and observations on life, than in pathos or imagination.'[3] As has been previously observed, Warton keenly

[1] III, 12. [2] III, 27. [3] III, 29.

appreciated satirical poetry and he recognized in Wyatt the first polished English satirist, and regretted that he had mistaken his talent, 'when in compliance with the mode, he became a sonnetteer', and that 'he had not left more pieces in a style of composition for which he seems to have been eminently qualified.'[1]

In considering Surrey as a writer of blank verse, Warton recognized an aspect of his work which had been almost entirely overlooked. When known at all, Surrey was known as a sonnetteer, and the importance of his Virgil in the revival of learning, and the reformation of English poetry, never fully recognized, had been long lost sight of.[2] Warton claimed for Surrey the honor of being the author of the 'first composition in blank verse extant in the English language;'[3] and asserted that his translation of the second and fourth books of the Aeneid had intrinsic merit aside from its originality. He recognized that the poem represented classical influence filtered through the medium of Italian literature similar to that evidenced in the sonnets. He realized that the clasical influence, like the Italian, involved the form, as well as the content of poetry; that a revolt against the 'bondage of rhyme' had arisen

[1] III, 34. 'Wyatt appears a much more pleasing writer, when he moralises on the felicities of retirement, and attacks the vanities and vices of a court, with the honest indignation of an independent philosopher, and the freedon and pleasantry of Horace.... and we must regret, that he has not left more pieces in a style of composition for which he seems to have been eminently qualified.'

[2] 'I know of no English critic besides (Ascham), who has mentioned Surrey's Virgil, except Bolton, a great reader of old English books' Warton's note, page 24, Vol.III.

[3] III, 21.

in Italy under the influence of the study and imitation of the classical poetry, and had been carried into England as part of the Italian renaissance; and that the idea of producing a version of the Aeneid in the vernacular was no doubt derived from the same source. In short, Warton saw in Wyatt and Surrey two significant aspects of the Italian and classical renaissance in England; they illustrated the study and revival of classical authors, and the attempt to improve English versification by the introduction of new models and 'new elegancies of composition.'

In his appreciation of the leaders, Warton did not neglect the other anonymous contributors to Tottel's Miscellany, which he aptly styled "a garland, in which it appears to have been the fashion for every Flowery Courtier to leave some of his blossoms.' And he perceived that these first poems of the new school, in which we read the history of the rebirth of English poetry, and trace its first efforts to sing in a new key, might easily have been lost to the history of poetry but for the industry and sagacity of Richard Tottel; that it was extremely unlikely that many of these slight and detached pieces, written for private circulation within the small circle of the poet's friends, would have survived changes in taste, carelessness, and accident, to the present age, but for their timely collection and publication in this form. The editor first received the recognition which he deserved from our historian.

Warton was not, however, so much impressed with the prominence of the new school as not to observe the continuation of the old romantic one. The introduction of this host of relatively unimportant and certainly little known writers is indicative both of Warton's wide knowledge of his field, and of his careful attention

to the details of his history. There is little, however, in the account that requires discussion here. These poets had lost the old poetic inspiration without having discovered a new one. And so 'there are many writers of this period who still rhymed on, in the old prosaic track of their immediate predecessors, and never ventured to deviate into the modern improvements. The strain of romantic fiction was lost; in the place of which they did not substitute the elegancies of the newly introduced.'[1] But if the romantic traditions in poetry had died out, its popularity still continued, as was evidenced by the number of printed editions of older romances in modernized versions.[2]

The most interesting poem of this old romantic kind was the 'Nutbrowne Mayde'[3], a poem well-enough known in the 18th Century through Prior's garbled version of it,[4] and its inclusion in Capel's Prolusions[5] and Percy's Religues.[6] Prior referred to the

[1] A chapter is also given to Heywood the dramatist, to whom Warton denied the title of the first writer of comedies, but he credited him with being 'among the first of our dramatists who drove the Bible from the stage, and introduced representations of familiar life and manners.' III, 87.

[2] Wykyn de Worde printed Richard Cuer de Lyon, 1528. Tretise of Merlyn, 1529. Wm. Copland printed Guy of Warwick, n.d. (about 1528). Pinson, Sir Bevys, n.d. Many quarto prose romances were printed between the years 1510 and 1540.' III, 142.

[3] It was first printed in Arnold's Chronicle (1502) (?) and 1521. Warton seems to have known only the second edition, a fact which affected his detaing of the poem. See Hazlitt's Early Popular Poetry, 4 vols., 1866, II, 171 ff.

[4] Henry and Emma. Poems on Several Occasions, 1709. p.241-73.

[5] Capel's Prolusions or Select Pieces of Ancient Poetry. 1760.

[6] Percy's Reliques, II, 31-47.

poem as three hundred years old; Capel dated it about 1500; and Percy avoided giving a definite date, but favored a middle course. Warton was inclined from the modernity of the language to put the date of the poem as late as possible, 'not earlier than the beginning at least, of the 16th Century.'[1] The compararive ease with which the poem could be read, the refinement of the sentiment, and the skillful management of this bit of dramatic dialogue, all bespoke relatively modern composition.

A comparison of Warton's estimate of the 'Nut Brown Maid' and Prior's imitation of it, with Dr. Johnson's is interesting as showing how the former's study of romantic literature had given him more flexible standards of criticism, and a more Catholic taste. Johnson had sternly condemned the story for its low morality which 'deserves no imitation' and, finding no merit in the theme, dismissed Prior's poem as a 'dull and tedious dialogue.'[2] On the other hand Warton admired the simplicity, refinement of sentiment and skillful construction of the older poem, and felt that Prior had failed both to appreciate its charm, and to do justice to its beauty in his version. 'Whoever was the original inventor of this little dramatic dialogue, he has shown no common skill in contriving a plan, which powerfully detains our attention, and interests the passions.. I cannot help observing here...that Prior has misconceived and essentially marred his poet's design.'[3]

[1] III, 136. The date of the poem is still uncertain. The first edition of Arnold's Chronicle (1502) determines the lower limit, and general opinion inclines to the middle of the 15th Century as the earlier limit. See Cambridge Hist. III, 322. Snell; Age of Transition, 1400,1580. 1905, I, 209. Hazlitt, Early Popular Poetry, II, 271.

[2] Life of Prior. Johnson's Works. III, 619.

[3] III, 140, Johnson's opinion was however, more popular than Wartons, in the 18th Century. Even Horace Walpole, who had frequently a taste for things old, ridiculed Wartons' enthusiasm for ancient poetry.

As Warton proceeded with his history, he found it more and more complicated by a number of parallel and interrelated tendencies or movements, which required careful separate treatment. This complexity was particularly evident in the early part of the sixteenth century. Side by side with the native romantic tendency and growing classicism he recognized the religious ferment, the reformation, with a literature peculiar to itself and an influence upon the whole body of literature. And this movement, as it was participated in by scholar and layman alike, was not always in harmoney with the spirit of the revival of learning, nor with Warton's somewhat strict ideas of the propriety and dignity of religious worship. 'The reformation of our Church', said Warton, 'produced an alteration for a time in the general system of study, and changed the character and subjects of our poetry. Every mind, both learned and unlearned, was busied in religious speculation; and every pen was employed in recommending, illustrating, and familiarizing the Bible, which was now laid open to the people'.[1]

Warton's historical method made clear at onee how this popularizing of religion, joined with the need for a substitute for the religious forms, abolished by the rigid Calvinists, fostered the introduction of a new form of verse, - metrical versions of various parts of scripture and verse parodies of church doctrine. He thought

After reading the third volume of the history he wrote to Mason,... "Mr. Warton thinks Prior spoiled his original in his imitation of Henry and Emma. Mercy on us! What shall we come to in these halcyon days.'" Walpole's Letters, XI, 412.

[1] III, 161. Similarly, but even more strongly: 'It was among the reproaches of protestantism, that the inexperienced and the unlearned thought themselves at liberty to explain the Scriptures, and to debate the most obstruse and metaphysical topics of theological speculation.' III, 202.

it scarcely exact, however, to say that the English reformation gave rise to this 'new mode of universal psalmody.' since Clement Marot, a French free-thinker, rather than protestant, was the first to adapt psalms to popular measures; but the practice offered so many advantages, and was so in accord with Calvin's notion of religious worship that it was immediately adopted and popularized both in the Calvinist and Church of England congregations.

Warton's comment on this practice, while it shows his usual keen critical faculty, and an underlying sense of humour, also betrays his own religious preferences. He strongly disapproved of the rigid and barren austerity of the reformers, which removed from religious service on the ground that they distracted the worshipper's attention from the essence of divine worship, not only these superfluous and barbarous ostentations which might have been considered relics of that same period when the ignorant were instructed by means of legends of saints and religious romances, but even those simple and significant symbols which contribute to the dignity and impressiveness of church ceremonies. It was Calvin's system, he said, 'to banish everything from his church which attracted or employed the senses, or which might tend to mar the purity of an abstracted adoration, and of a mental intercourse with the deity.'[1]

These religious reforms not only offended Warton's religious instincts, but outraged his poetical taste. He was even more repelled by the atrocious verse of the 'mob of religious rhymers, who, from principles of the most unfeigned piety, devoutly labored to darken the luster, and enervate the force of the divine page'; and

[1] III, 165.

who composed a 'species of poetry....which even impoverishes prose; or rather, by mixing the stile of prose with verse, and of verse with prose, destroys the character and effect of both.'[1] Nowhere in the history does Warton's personal feeling betray itself so forcibly and clearly as in his arraignment of the men who submitted the Bible and the forms of religious worship to such indignities, and had succeeded in getting them used in the established church. But he could not escape the fact that the movement was general. 'Although Wyatt and Surrey had before made translations of the Psalms into metre, Thomas Sternhold was the first whose metrical version of the Psalms was used in the Church of England.' But he had a host of coadjutors and followers, all equally 'little qualified either by genius or accomplishments for poetrical composition', and equally successful in 'misrepresenting and debasing the dignity of the original.'[2]

It is quite evident from the numerous examples of this execrable versifying that Warton gave, that he took some delight in quoting from more that one 'dignified fanatic's divine poetry.'[3] 'How the Ten Commandments and the Athanasian Creed, to say nothing of some of the rest, should become more edifying, and better suited to common use, or how they could receive improvement in any respect or degree by being reduced into rhyme, it is not easy to perceive.'[3] The conclusion is obviously just from the specimen given:

"'The Father God is, God the Son,
God Holy Ghost <u>also</u>,
Yet there are not three Gods <u>in all</u>
But one God and <u>no mo</u>.'
.....

[1] III, 194.
[2] III, 172 and 3.
[3] III, 168.

'From thence shall he come for to judge
All men both dead and quick;
I in the holy ghost believe,
And church that's catholic.'"

Warton's amusement at the absurdities of such verse soon gave way to indignation that these things had not only been introduced into the English Church, but continued to be used there, 'to the disgrace of sacred music, sacred poetry, and our established worship.'[1]

One is not quite certain why Warton concluded the chapters on reformation poetry, with their numerous examples of religious doggerel, with the 'first....drinking-ballad, of any merit, in our language,' the rollicking 'Back and side go bare,' from 'Gammer Gurton's Needle.' Perhaps, as appears likely enough, it was naturally included in gathering up the odds and ends of poetry before passing on to Sackville, and the renaissance movement. But the contrast, of which Warton was well aware, between the vigorous swing of this 'ungodlie ballad' and the forced and far less effective 'poetry of the puritans' is so striking - the same metre was used in many of the religious poems - that it is hard to think it accidental.

Warton did not find the interval between Surrey and Spenser wholly occupied, however, in verse more religious than poetical, nor poetry entirely obscured by religious and political controversies. He realized that while literary activity is not entirely independent of contemporary events, great political and social agitation has frequently been not only not destructive of poetical production, but often really stimulating to it. It was so with a "Mirror for Magistrates,' the product of the troublesome reign of Queen Mary and the

[1] III, 176.
[2] III, 205.

most meritorious poem of its period. While this poem, or rather, collection of poems, was the work of many writers, Warton easily recognized in Sackville the master of them all; and naturally, if not quite exactly, ascribed the conception of the whole to him.[1] The plan of the poem was confessedly borrowed from Boccaccio's 'De Casibus Principium', and Lydgate's 'Falls of Princes'; and Baldwin's plan, as he explained in his preface, was to continue the series to modern times. Warton pointed out that the poem had also some affinity with the 'Canterbury Tales', as a collection of disconnected poems bound together by thescheme of imagining them related to the 'silent person of the assembly', in this case Baldwin, as in the other the Host, or like the chorus in Greek Tragedy.

Warton's treatment of Sackville illustrates very clearly that comparison of like poems for the purpose of throwing light on the evolution of literary forms which constitutes one of his chief points of superiority to most of his predecessors. He pointed out that Sackville occupies a very important position, as he represents the blending of several influences - the native or romantic, the Italian, and the classical, and forms the link connecting this tradition with Spenser. He borrowed the principal idea for the Induction from 'that very romantic part of Virgil's Eneid' the description of the Classical Hell; but he heightened and enriched

[1] In a note on the Mirror for Magistrates in his Observations on the Fairy Queen, Warton recognized Sackville as assisting Baldwin in his project, but as extending the plan, and projecting improvement which he never carried out.

J.W.Cuncliffe in the Cambridge History (III, IX.) gives an analysis of the poem, and a study of its authorship, which makes it evident that Sackville was not the originator of the plan, though he undoubtedly made valuable suggestions, and intended writing other complaints.

the description so that 'the imaginary beings which sate within the porch of hell, are all his own.'[1] This power of vivid description of allegorical, or at least abstract characters so that they appear more like real than imaginary personages, Warton recognized as Sackville's peculiar gift; a gift that distinguishes his work from that of his predecessors and contemporaries, and which he passed on to Spenser, an invaluable heritage. These symbolical figures, said Warton, are 'conceived with the vigour of a creative imagination, and described with great force of expression. They are delineated with that fulness of proportion, that invention of picturesque attributes, distinctness, and animation, and aptitude, of which Spenser is commonly supposed to have given the first specimens in our language, and which are characteristical of his poetry.....' 'We may venture to pronounce, that Spenser, at least, caught his manner of designing allegorical personages from this model, which is greatly enlarged the former narrow bounds of our ideal imagery, as that it may justly be deemed are original in that style of painting.'[2]

Warton was not satisfied with his comparative study of a poem, however, until he had carried it beyond the limits of the national literature to which it belonged. Only a scholar widely read in other literatures, and a critic with a strong sense of ther essential unity, would have attempted such an extended piece of comparative criticism as Warton's Comparison of Sackville's 'In-

[1] III, 225.
[2] III, 283. In his Observations on the Fairy Queene, Warton had called attention to the Mirror for Magistrates as anticipating the vivid portrayal of allegorical characters which distinguished Spenser. See, II, 101-3.

duction' with Dante's 'Divine Comedy' - a study that also includes Homer and Virgil in its wide sweep. Such scholars and critics were all but unknown in the 18th Century,[1] and though more numerous in the next, their method of studying literature is even now regarded as a relatively recent development. But Thomas Warton ha. more in common with this modern school than with the old pseudo-classical criticism by rule. As has been frequently said, he realized the value of this comparative method of criticism, and used it deliberately. 'Nothing' he said, 'more fully illustrates and ascertains the respective merits and genius of different poets, than a juxtaposition of their performances on similar subjects.'[2] But nowhere did he employ this modern method more extensively and effectively than in his study of the 'Mirror for Magistrates'. He felt he could trust his readers to recognize particular resemblances to Virgil, and even in general to Spenser, after the connection had been pointed out, but relation to Dante's 'Inferno' would not be so readily perceived when knowledge of the Italian language and literature was comparatively rare.[3]

[1] Professor Saintsbury, who never does full justice to Warton, credits Gray alone of English critics of this century with the ability to use the comparative method; but certainly Gray has left less evidence of it than has Warton. Hist. of Crit. III, 462.
[2] III, 226.
[3] It seems to have been due partly to accident that no translations of the Divine Comedy were printed before 1782, when Roger's 'Inferno' appeared and Hayley printed a translation of the first three cantos of the Inferno (In the notes to the third Epistle of his Essay on Epic Poetry) and that no complete translation appeared before Boyd's in 1802. Boyd published a translation of the Inferno alone in 1785, prefaced with a 'summary view of Dante's poem, entitled, Commedia, extracted from Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry.' (Crit. Rev. June, 1785, 59: 401). Wm. Huggins whose 'Observer Observed' published Anonymously, in 1756, attacked Warton's 'Observations on the Fairy Queen' left at his death in 1761, a complete translation of the 'Divine Comedy' in manuscript,

but his instructions to print it were never carried out. About the same time Dr. Burney made a prose translation of the Inferno, but that, too, was never printed.

Dante, had, however, been more or less intelligently recognized by critic and poet, throughout the century (Pope's School of Dante' in his plan for a history of English Poetry, and Jonathan Richardson's translation of the Ugolino epidose in 1719 - the first of many translations of that passage. Gray, 1737, Baretté, 1753, Joseph Warton, 1756, the Earl of Carlisle, 1773, Thomas Warton, 1781). A few of Warton's comtemporaries seem to have had a knowledge of the Italian language sufficient, as Chesterfield said, to speak it tolerably with 'those very few Italians who speak no French', whom they met in their travels. The conventional attitude toward Italian literature and especially Dante seems to have been one of pretty ignorant contempt. Lord Chesterfield considered Tasso and Aristo the only Italian authors worth reading; Dante he had never thought worth the pains of understanding, and Petrarch was a 'sing-song, love-sick Poet.' (Letters to his Son, CLVI, 1751, I, 396; CXXXII, 1750; I, 320. Ed. Bradshaw, 1893). Walpole's knowledge of Italian seems to have been practical rather than literary; he thought Dante 'extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short, a Methodist person in Bedlam', yet he seems to have desired a literal prose translation of the Divine Comedy. (See Letters, ed. Toynbee, XIII, 188. XII, 274, and Pinkerton Walpoliana, 1799). Dr. Johnson was almost silent on the subject - a single reference to Dante in the life of Gray - and that at second-hand-, and Boswell's account of his comparison of the openings of 'Pilgrim's Progress' and the 'Divine Comedy' with its puzzling implication that there was then a translation of Dante (Boswell's Johnson, Hill ed. II, 238). Boswell, it may be remarked, left conclusive evidence of his own complete ignorance of Dante. (Same, III, 229).

Gray and Tyrwhitt alone of Warton's contemporaries seem to have had any wide knowledge of Dante. They were familiar with the Canzoniere, de Vulgari Eloquentia' and 'Vita Nuova' as well as the Divina Commedia. (Gray: Observations on the English Metre, and on the Pseudo-Rhythmus, written about 1760-61, but not printed until 1814. Mathias ed. works. Tyrwhitt: ed. Chaucer, 1775).

Paget Toynbee's valuable assembly of references to Dante in the 18th Century reveals meagerness of knowledge of Dante, so that Warton appears as the largest contributor to general acquaintance with the Divine Comedy before the translation in 1782. (Toynbee: Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary, 2 vols N.Y.1909. See introduction as well as quotations from 18th Century writers.)

An anonymous contributor to the Edinburgh Review for July 1833, in a review of Wright's translation of the Inferno, appreciated the relationof Warton's work to the prevailing ignorance of Dante. He said: 'The "Divine Comedy" was still a sealed volume in scholastic libraries, when the two Wartons, who had some life in them during one of the deadest periods of our literature, distinguished themselves by their endeavors to attract to it the attention of the English public. So little was it known, that Thomas Warton introduced an analysis of it in his History of English poetry.'

Warton's detailed analysis of the 'Divine Comedy' - its source, content, and particular beauties - is at the same time an evidence of his mastery of the poem, and a reflection upon the lack of Italian scholarship in his day. He showed that while the poem combined both classical and mediaeval elements, the mediaeval element so predominated that the Divine Comedy was to be regarded, not as a renaissance, but as a medieval poem. He pointed out that while the subject was classical, derived from Homer and Virgil, the embellishments - the incidents, the detailed descriptions, the manners and, above all, the atmosphere of gloom and horror that pervades the whole - these were essentially Gothic, the product of the mediaeval fancy. And while Warton realized that the poem was written on the eve of the classical renaissance in Italy, when one might expect an imitation of the classics that were then so much admired, and studied, he demonstrated that the Italian genius was still following the old bent, and could not easily adapt itself to the new models. The early Italian poets were 'dazzled with the imageries of Virgil and Homer' but they 'disfigured, instead of adorning their works, by attempting to imitate the classics. The charms which we so much admire in Dante, do not belong to the Greeks and Romans.'[1] But Warton by no means denied the power of Dante on that account. He has repeatedly shown his independence of classical standards; and, in the case of Dante, he could rejoice that his extravagancies as well as his excellencies had been perpetuated.[2]

[1] III, 241.

[2] Mr. Toynbee, it seems to me, has failed to recognize the qualitative as well as quantitative differences (Warton has 23 pages in the first volume - 1380-1805, the largest comtribution save Cary's 37 pages) in Warton's Criticism. He puts Gray and Tyrwhitt in a class by themselves, as the only Italian scholars; but even though

Thorough criticism meant to Warton, however, not only a comparative study of similar works, but also an historical study of the reputation of a poem in the literature and criticism of his day. While he had said that Sackville's contribution to the 'Mirror for Magistrates' surpassed in poetical value the rest of the collection, which must be admitted to be on the whole 'tedious and languid' he had more than once shown an appreciation of the fact that the judgment of posterity frequently differs from contemporary opinion, and that a work despised by later generations might be extremely important in its own. Warton's study of the reputation of the 'Mirror for Magistrates' is both an interesting application of the historical method, and an evidence of his thorough knowledge of the period. Sir Philip Sidney, Bishop Hall, 'the ingenuious satirist,' Weever, Hake, 'that sensible old English critic

Gray's knowledge of Italian was certainly more thorough than Prof. Kittredge has proved his knowledge of Norse to have been, it must be admitted that neither of them promoted the general knowledge of Dante in their own day to any considerable extent, however thoroughly they may have demonstrated their own knowledge. On the other hand, Warton's 'general view' of the poem, his appreciation of its beauties, while admitting certain faults, must have greatly stimulated interest in Dante and prepared the way for a favorable reception of Roger's translation. Mr. Toynbee, however, classes Warton with Chesterfield and Walpole, as 'professing to approve Voltaire's cynical treatment of Dante' and giving his analysis of the poem somewhat unwillingly; he says, 'while he laments Dante's "gothic and extravagant innovations" he <u>has to allow</u> that his "grossest improprieties discover an originality of invention; and his absurdities often border on sublimity,"' (Introd. pp.XXXII-XXXIV). It is on the contrary, pretty evident that Warton introduced a discussion of a poem that he knew and admired in order that readers who did not know it might be able to understand a comparison that he realized was necessary to complete comprehension of the English poem he was discussing. It is, I hope, equally evident that, while Warton saw the 'gross absurdities' which disgusted his contemporaries, his familiarity with the extravagancies of gothic romance, and his frequently expressed admiration of them, made his admiration of Dante's poem both natural and genuine.

Edmund Bolton', and George Chapman, were drawn upon for their opinions of the poem.

Warton's comprehensive view of literature enabled him to see an historical significance in the popularity of the 'Mirror for Magistrates', aside from its poetical value, that would account for its importance. He realized that it appeared at the time of the awakening of interest in the national history, and gave a considerable impetus to it. The number of editions, continuations, and imitations not only testified to the general appreciation of the poem, but also showed its connection with the widespread interest in historical narrative. Warton was keenly alive to the importance of the added richness which was given to English poetry through the opening up of the great field of English history; and realized the value, both to the historian and the poet, of the great mass of material that had long been 'shut up in the Latin narrations of monkish annalists.'[1] The 'Mirror for Magistrates' stood near the beginning of that literary movement that produced Drayton's 'Heroical Epistles' and Warner's 'Albion's England' and culminated in Shakespeare's historical drama;[2] and while it was not the source of them all, 'At least it is certain, that the writers of this Mirrour were the first who made a poetical use of the English chronicles recently compiled by Fabyan, Hall, and Holinshed, which opened a new field of subjects and events; and, I may add, produced a great

[1] III, 282.

[2] Warton did not regard Shakespeare as in any sense a direct borrower from the Mirror for Magistrates. On the contrary he found evidence that Niccols, the compiler of a late edition, 1610, drew upon Richard III, for his legend of that king; but he thought it possible that Shakespeare might have got the idea of the apparitions from the general plan of the poem.

revolution in the state of popular knowledge.'

In tracing the history of the 'Mirror for Magistrates' and its various continuations, Warton was carried to the beginning of the 17th Century, omitting many minor writers to whom it was necessary for him to turn back and discuss. The great variety and volume of literary activity, but without commanding figures, make this period both difficult for the historian and less interesting for the reader. Warton, however, who aimed at accuracy and fullness of detail before popular interest - though he was not blind to the advantages of effective presentation of his subject - did not shirk his responsibility as an historian. He realized too, that literary tendencies are frequently more evident in minor writers than in great geniuses, and therefore discussed these comparatively unimportant poets with great fairness, and, no doubt, greatly to the edification of his readers. In Richard Edwards he found 'one of the earliest of our dramatic writers after the refomation of the British stage.'[1] and the author of some conventional poems to court ladies, included in the "Paradise of Daintie Devices." As 'his popularity seems to have altogether arisen from those pleasing talents of which no specimen remains to posterity, and which prejudiced his poetical contemporaries in favor of his poetry,'[2] Warton conceived that he did him greater justice by quoting ~~him~~ from his contemporaries than from his own work.

Warton's opinion of Thomas Tusser was evidently influenced by his familiarity with, and endurance of many tiresome didactic

[1] III, 297.

[2] III, 286.

poems of the neo-classical period, and his interest in anything that revealed ancient manners. In his criticism of 'Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie' he deplored its lack of poetical value, which was only atoned for by the interest of its matter to the antiquarian; and he took occasion, under cover of exhibiting its simplicity, to poke a little fun at the artificial descriptions and incongruous pagan mythology of some nature poetry. 'It must be acknowledged, that this old English Georgic has much more of the simplicity of Hesiod, that of the elegance of Virgil.....It is without invocations, digressions, and descriptions; no pleasing pictures of rural imagery are drawn from meadoews covered with stocks and fields waving with corn,nor are Pan and Ceres once named. Yet it is valuable as a genuine picture of the agriculture, the rural arts, and the domestic economy and customs, of our industrious ancestors.'[1]

Although Warton was usually careful to confine himself to the history of poetry alone, he could not forbear noticing that in this period, English prose began to be studied, and that early attempts to show 'how a subject might be treated with grace and propriety in English as well as in Latin.' were not only not without their effect upon English poetry, but the study of them would throw light upon its progress. Especially as this study of methods of expression naturally gave rise to the related study of systems of criticism. Hitherto literary criticism in England had been incidental and occasional; it now became conscious and deliberate.

[1] III, 304.

The origin of literary criticism in England naturally attracted Warton, thought it was much neglected by his contemporary critics who had little interest in the first of their race. He recognized in Roger Ascham the first to assert the value of English as a scholarly language. Wilson's 'Arte of Rhetoric'[1] he justly considered the first book or system of criticism in our language,' and he quoted from it to some extent to show its method and scope, as well as the state of learning and English composition at that period. It was followed he said, by a few other rhetorics and grammars of less value.[2]

With the characteristic thoroughness that distinguishes Warton from the old school of critics who knew practically nothing of the history of other literature, and that is one of his claims to rank as the first of modern critics; he turned here to compare the development of vernacular criticism in England with the progress found in other countries and found that criticism was developed much earlier in France and Italy. In this discussion, though brief enough to be brought within the limits of a history of English poetry, Warton selected just those works which were the landmarks of French criticism of that period, and the counterparts of later English works. There is every indication that he had examined personally the early French rhetorics and critical treatises.[3] The earliest he described is 'Le Jardin de Plaisance' about 1500, a work that seemed to correspond to Wilson's Rhetoric, while Sibilet's

[1] 1553, H.E.P. III, 331.
[2] The existence of some of these Warton conjectured from references in contemporary works, and from the Stationer's Register.
[3] He quoted Goujet's Bibliothèque Française (1740-59) but only for other editions. His careful descriptions and quotations bespeak first hand acquaintance with them.

'Arte Poetique'[1] was the first French art of poetry. His comments upon this work and Pelletier's 'Art Poetique'[2] show his understanding of this state of literature in France in the 16th Century, and his appreciation of the attempts of the Pléiade to improve it.[3]

Sixteenth century Italian criticism was dismissed with much scanter treatment. Warton passed over the nuermous echoes of Aristotelianism for examples of genuine vernacular criticism, which he found, usually consisted of discussions of the Italian poets. He selected Bembo's 'Della Volgar Lingua,'[4] as 'perhaps the first criticism' on the vernacular tongue. But Warton had no intention of doing anything more in this field than indicate the possibilities and extent of the subject. He promptly resigned this 'labyrinth of research to the superior opportunities and abilities of the French and Italian antiquaries in their literature. 'To have said nothing on the subject might have been thought an omission, and to have said more, impertinent!'[5]

Warton found it impossible, in a study of a period in which the drama loomed so large, to avoid discussing it altogether. Its relation to the larger field of poetry was too close. He could not discuss the author of the 'Mirror for Magistrates' without some discussion of the tragedy in the composition of which he had a

[1] Paris, 1548.

[2] Lyons, 1555. Pelletier also translated Horace's 'Ars Poetica' in 1545.

[3] Warton did not mention the Pléiade by that name, nor did he mention Ronsard, but he seems to have gained an idea of their position.

[4] Warton put the first edition in 1525, the second, 1549- for 1548.

[5] III, 353.

share. - work that he considered 'perhaps the first specimen in our language of an heroic tale, written in blank verse, divided into acts and scenes, and cloathed with all the formalities of a regular tragedy.' Warton's comment upon 'Gorboduc' [1] as a tragedy is a very sound piece of criticism, and shows a keen appreciation of the essentials of literary and acting drama.

On the whole, Warton's theory of tragedy seems to have been a judicious selection of the best from the classical and romantic theories, with considerable allowance for individual genius. ~~The~~ The unities he thought should be observed, but their neglect might be atoned for by poetical beauties, as in Shakespeare. Warton combined the romantic insistence upon dramatic action with the pseudo-classical enjoyment of evident moral purpose. He desired classical restraint in language, and deplored both the tendency to bombast, and florid description, and to excess of moralizing. Of the characters he required that they should be carefully discriminative and consistently portrayed, that their actions should be adequately motivated, and that they should be sufficiently great and important; and of the plot that the leading incidents should be intricate and significant enough to arouse the curiosity and hold the interest of the audience. A few extracts from the criticism of 'Gorboduc' will show its trend, and illustrate Warton's principles. The play lacks 'pathetic or critical situations.'....Nothing is perplexed and nothing unravelled...and yet the language.....has great purity and perspicuity...and is entirely free from that timid phraseology, which does not seem to have taken place till playwriting had become a trade, and out poets found it their interest to captivate

[1] Gorboduc had been reprinted in Dodsley's Old Plays. 1744.

the multitude by the false sublime, and by those exaggerated imageries and pedantic metaphors, which are the chief blemishes of the scenes of Shakespeare and which are at this day mistaken for his capital beauties by too many readers'...Sidney had commanded the play as full of notable moralities but Warton had a better idea of the function of tragedy. 'Tragedies are not to instruct us by the intermixture of moral sentences, but by the force of example, and the effect of the story.....Sentiment and argument will never supply the place of action upon the stage.[1]

While Warton was able to criticize 'Gorboduc' acutely as the first English tragedy, and the beginning of Senecan influence, he realized that, as it was not written for popular taste but for a select audience of scholars and courtiers at the Middle Temple and Whitehall, and was not soon adopted as a model for any original composition, it stood somewhat out of the regular line of dramatic development. But in the revival of classical learning he found a larger place for it. As the first English drama upon the classical model he said it 'seems to have directed the attention of our more learned poets to the study of the old classical drama, and in a short time to have produced vernacular version'[2] of classical plays.

No critic before Warton had pointed out, nor probably even comprehended, the importance of the great number of translations from classical authors during the last half of the 16th century. He had so steeped himself in the literature of this period that he

[1] III, 362-3.

[2] III, 372.

realized not only the naturalness, but the inevitableness of the classical revival. He had indicated that this movement had begun as early as the 15th Century, when French translations of classical authors had become popular in England;[1] and now showed that, with the reawakening of interest in vernacular poetry, 'many more of the ancient poets.....appeared in English verse'[3]. Warton furnished for the first time a detailed enumeration of the various translations of 'almost all the Greek and Roman classics (that) appeared in England before the year 1600;'[2] and demonstrated how potent an influence they were in enriching English poetry, and preparing the way for its most brilliant period. Their contribution, he recognized, was two-fold; they familiarized English readers with the ideas and traditions of classical literature, - thus adding to the stock of poetical material and acting as a stimulus to creative poetry; and they improved the English language and versification by the inspiration of new models. As evidence of the popularity and prevalence of English versions, Warton was able to point out that classical allusions permeated both literature and common life. 'The divinities and heroes of pagan antiquity (not only) decorated every composition,'[4] but they were upon the lips of all even the Merry Wives of Windsor. He understood, too, the secret of their popularity, the attractions of their unusual fictions for the romance-loving English poet; and showed that the very nature of this appeal delayed the enjoyment of the more characteristic beauties of classical literature.

[1] See Above p 234. [2] III, 395. [3] III, 460. [4] III, 494.

'At this restoration of the classics,' said Warton, 'we were first struck only with their fabulous inventions. We did not attend to the regularity of design and justness of sentiment. A rude age, beginning to read these writers, imitated their extravagancies, not their natural beauties.'[1]

Warton found it extremely difficult to separate dramatic from other poetry: the translators of the classics were often dramatists as well. His researches among the files of the Stationers' Registers, antiquaries' compilations of anecdotes, and innumerable 16th century works of all sorts - critical, poetical, dramatic, - brought to light as much valuable and fresh information about the drama and even prose literature, as about pure poetry. As Warton was unable in many cases to keep rigidly to his limited field, this part of his history is somewhat confused from its very wealth of knowledge. Besides Phaier's Aenied, Golding's Ovid and Drant's Horace (to select but a few of the best known translations of the classics; we find mention of the Greek novel 'Clitophon and Leucippe' and the 'futile novels of Lodge and Lilly.'[2] which also connect with the traditions of Virgil's 'Alexis' and the sonnet sequences. Marlowe's unfinished translation, 'Hero and Leander' with its abundant evidence that he was 'admirably justified for.....pure poetry;'[3] Chapman, whose Homer was unfortunate for choice of metre, but was 'not always without strength or spirit,'[4] and whose 'eighteen plays .....although now forgotten, must have contributed in no inconsid-

[1] III, 494.

[2] III, 406.

[3] III, 438.

[4] III, 442.

erable degree to enrich and advance the English stage; '[1] Barnaby Googe's translation of Palingenius's Latin satire, the 'Zodiacus Vitae', in execrable verse; and innumerable other works of all sorts.[2]

Warton's study of translations in the 16th century was by no means confined to classical authors. From the time of Wyatt and Surrey the Italian influence had been growing, and translations were numerous and important. Of course, at a very much earlier period English literature had drawn upon Italian, but only for a short time; 'the golden mine of Italian fiction opened by Chaucer, was soon closed and forgotten.'[3] About the middle of the 16th century it was opened again - at the same place - with Boccaccio's Tales. Paynter's 'Palace of Pleasure' included in its two volumes a considerable part of this novel.[4]

[1] III, 447.

[2] Jonson appears only incidentally as a critic and dramatist; he was evidently reserved for the next volume, when the creative poetry of the period was to be discussed.

[3] III, 464.

[4] In the field of Italian translations Warton of course immediately became interested in Shakesperian sources. Perhaps one should not after all so much regret that Warton did no more in the field of Shakespeare criticism than drop occasional hints of his sound opinions. That field was being able worked by some of his contemporaries, while in his own field he was largely a pioneer. Richard Farmer, in an Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare (1767) first demonstrated that Shakespeare's knowledge of classical and Italian authors was obtained through the medium of these 16th Century translations. Farmer was a very learned antiquarian, and had a valuable library of old books and Mss, which were at the disposal of his friend Warton. This very valuable essay is his only important literary work. It was probably, Warton's authority for his excellent summary of Shakespeare's sources and his use of them. 'Shakespeare was only a reader by accident. Hollinshed and translated Italian novels supplied most of his plots or stories. His storehouse of learned philosophy was North's Plutarch. The only

While Warton's list of translations from the Italian - either direct, or through the medium of French of Latin versions - is quite long, it did not attempt to be complete. It was the historian's purpose simply to indicate the general tendency, and to show that the best of Italian literature, as the best of classical literature was familiar to English readers in English versions, before the close of Elizabeth's reign, and that they were wielding an influence as forceful in its way as any other.[1] In discussing them Warton had introduced the last of the great external influences which helped to make the age of Elizabeth so glorious a period in English literature. In the next volume he would show its fruition.

Having thus presented a detailed view of the influences which helped to form the poetry of the great age of Elizabeth, Warton concluded his third volume with a general view which was at once a recapitulation and an introduction to the discussion of the actual poetry of this most glorious period in English literature. 'The Age of Queen Elizabeth is commonly called the golden age of English poetry. It certainly may not improperly be styled the most poetical age of these annals.'[1] Warton described the poetry of the period as characterized by great activity of imagination, wide range of interest, fondness for the lively or exciting, the

poetical fable of antiquity which he has worked into a play is Troilius. But this he borrowed from the romance of Troy. Modern fiction and English history were his principal resources. These perhaps were more suitable to his taste; at least he found that they produced the most popular subjects. Shakespeare was above the bondage of the classics.' III, 393.

[1] 'Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened by this sort of reading; and the Italian pastoral...was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's Arcadia.' III, 496.

pathetic and the fanciful. The causes of the peculiar character of the poetry of this period were those which have been discussed before at some length, but might be summarized as: 'the revival and vernacular versions of the classics, the importation and translation of Italian novels, the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy, a degree of superstitution sufficient for the purposes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance and the frequency and improvement of allegoric exhibitions in the popular spectacles.'[1]

At the same time that Warton insisted upon the general familiarity with classical story at this period, he made a nice distinction between the adopting of classical subject matter and the imitation of classical forms. Appreciation of the chaste simplicity and dignity of classical models came somewhat later, and in the meantime, the imitation of their extravagant fictions was carried to excess.[2]

Warton realized that while the popularity of the Italian tales, too, depended upon the English relish for tale-telling, they also contributed an important element to English poetry. They were largely responsible for the introduction of a more personal tone. Instead of the detachment, and purely objective treatment of both the romantic or mediaeval and the classical tendencies, they substituted a realistic method, and greater human interest, and introduced subjects in which these elements naturally appeared.

'These narratives' said Warton, 'not dealing altogether in

[1] III, 490.

[2] III, 494. See above, p.

romantic inventions, but in real life and manners, and in artful arrangements of fictitious yet probable events...gave rise to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed; and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the same kind. Before these books became common, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe were almost unknown. Distress, especially that arising from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been shown in its most interesting forms.... These pieces usurped the place of legends and chronicles. And although the old historical songs of the minstrels contained much bold adventures, heroic enterprise, and strong touches of rude delineation, yet they failed in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more discerning and curious age.'[1]

But Warton did not by any means intend us to conclude that this access of classicism and realism entirely superseded the old romantic extravagance. As he had shown, in the selection of material from classical and Italian sources the first consideration was fanciful and lively fictions; the appeal was on the imaginative or romantic side. This was the basis of attraction, the other charms were felt later, and though their influence increased, they did not quite break the old spell. As Warton said, quaintly but acutely:- 'Every goblin of ignorance did not vanish at the first glimmering of the morning of science. Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of

[1] III, 495.

poetry.'[1] Renewed contact with other literature, Warton realized produced at the same time a chastening and a stimulating effect; subduing the extravagancies of imagination, and opening up wider fields of poetical activity. The result was a delightful mingling of the charms of imagination and reason; extravagant fiction subdued within the limits of possibility, infused with the vitality of actual life, and adopted to the forms of classical poetry. 'In the mean time' said Warton, 'the Gothic romance, although somewhat shook by the classical fictions, and by the rules of Boccace and Bandello, still maintained its ground; and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic storehouse of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse.....We were not arived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a sort of civilized superstitution, and left a set of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense.'[2]

The combination of these three influences - romantic, imagination, Italian realism, and classical reason - resulted in many incongruities; but Warton recognized also that they were the great essential principles of poetry, the predominance of one of which would determine the character of any period. During the Elizabethan period, taken as a whole, he thought the balance fairly well preserved; reason perhaps was still a little in abeyance.

Warton discussed two other elements as still relatively

[1] III, 496.

[2] III, 497.

undeveloped, but not of such primary importance, nor so easily distinguished. The first was the critical. As he had previously indicated, the classics were used largely for material; criticism from that source had not commenced, and literary self-consciousness was equally undeveloped. There was by this time but one 'Arte of Poetry,' and only a few critical treatises, so that writers were entirely unhampered by canons of taste or rules of correct composition. 'Every man indulged his own capriciousness of invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own involuntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception.'[1] This freedom from restraint had the advantage of increasing the variety and flexibility of poetry, but was attended with the danger of descending to license. 'Selection and discrimination were often overlooked. Even Shakespeare sometimes sinned in this respect, and descending from tragic sublimity to petty quibbles and low farce, resembled his own Richard II and 'mingled his royalty with carping fools.'

The other necessary element which Warton found lacking in 16th century poetry is more difficult to describe. It is sometimes called the sentimental, though that term is applicable only in a very limited sense to the natural feminine influence, the simple, but not ineffective portrayal of the gentler passions, which, I think, is what Warton meant. He observed that most feminine characters in 16th century poetry stood on a unique plain of unreality, and convention. They were usually portrayed in accordance with

[1] III, 499.

stereotyped tradition; as pale, colorless heroines, absurdly idealized mistresses, or rude caricatures. This Warton seems to think was due to the inferior social position of women, so that the effect of natural and sincere intercourse with them had not yet operated upon literature. Shakespeare's women were real enough, of course, but even they felt the restrictions of the old conventions. 'Their tragic heroines, their Desdemonas and Ophelias, although of so much consequence in the piece, are degraded to the background. In comedy, their ladies are nothing more than Merry Wives, plain and cheerful matrons, who stood upon the chariness of their honesty. In the smaller poems, if a lover praises his mistress, she is complimented in strains neither polite nor pathetic, without elegance and without affection; she is described, not in the address of intelligible, but artful panegyric, not in the real colours, and with the genuine accomplishments, of nature, but as an eccentric being of another system, and as inspiring sentiment equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.'[1]

Warton's summary of the elements which contributed to make Elizabethan poetry just what it was, the most practical in the annals of English poetry, shows his conception of what are the essentials of such an age. He had always recognized imagination, as the first requisite of pure poetry, and he had realized, as his pseudo-classical contemporaries had not, that the romantic fictions of the middle ages made a more powerful appeal to the imagination and feelings than the traditions of classical antiquity. Warton, however, saw no necessary conflict between them, and he realized

[1] III, 501.

that it was of inestimable value to the Elizabethan age that it combined the beauties of both; that the renaissance in English poetry had revived the variety and vigour of native invention, the richness and realism which resulted from the classical revival in Italy, and something of the restraint and perfection of form of the classics. And he pointed out that before reason and science had so far advanced upon art that the intellectual qualities prevailed over the imaginative, poetry reached its highest development in England, poetry in which poetical expression was carried to its highest point, rich in description, picturesque imagery and figurative language. 'On the whole' he said, 'we were arrived at that period, propitious to the operations of original and true poetry, when the coyness of fancy was not always proof against the approaches of reason, when genius was rather directed than governed by judgment, and when taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or control, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.'[1]

In Warton's analysis of the great poetic age of Elizabeth, it is evident that he had in mind the dearth of poetry in his own day; that in his belief that great poetry could not be produced in an age of great enlightenment, he found an explanation of the lack of poetry in his own age, if not in its intellectual attainment, at least in the predominance of reason over imagination; and that, while he scarcely expected another renaissance of poetry, he saw

[1] III, 501.

that its hope lay in the revival of those elements which he had found essential in the period of its greatest perfection; romantic imagination, realism, and classical subject-matter. These, it will be remembered, are the qualities which Warton tried, as far as he was able, to embody in his own poetry, and they are elements which were prominent in the poetry of the age which followed his.[1]

[1] Only eleven sheets of the fourth volume were printed, and probably little, if any more was ever written. These pages show no falling off in the historian's ability. Warton attributed the quantity of poetry produced during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, - 'more than in the ten preceding centuries,' to the same causes which he had so fully discussed in the third volume, those 'which called forth genius and imagination, such as the new sources of fiction opened by a study of the classics, a familiarity with the French, Italian, and Spanish writers, the growing elegancies of the English language, the diffusion of polished manners, the felicities of long peace and public prosperity, and a certain freedom and activity of mind which immediately followed the national emancipation from superstition.(a) The very richness of the field necessitated subdivisions of the subject which had not been needed before. Warton proposed for himself four:- Satire, Sonnet, Pastoral, and Miscellaneous, reserving Spenser to stand alone.

It is not surprising that Warton chose to consider first a kind in which he had frequently shown a considerable interest, the satirical. But he did not proceed farther with the discussion than to show the beginning of English satire along classical lines, under the direct inspiration of Juvenal, whom Hall introduced as a model. A comparison of Hall and Marston, a discussion of a few minor satirists, and the history, as we have it, ends in medias res.

[a] History of English Poetry, Hazlitt, ed. 1871, IV, 363.

VII

CRITICAL RECEPTION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

It has been suggested that Warton appealed in his preface to two classes of readers, the man of taste, and the antiquary, and that he hoped to please and interest both. It is most interesting to observe how a work, written by a man who belonged strictly to neither class, was received by typical members of each. Horace Walpole posed as an antiquary; but compared with the strict studies and exact knowledge of the real antiquarians, his bits of information on ancient matters appear decidedly dilettante and amateurish. He hailed the first volume of Warton's history with delight: 'It seems delightfully full of the things I love,'[1] but his enthusiasm was scarcely sufficient to survive the reading of it. He granted that the particulars were entertaining, but maintained that the amassing of 'all the parts and learning of four centuries' simply produced the impression 'that those four ages had no parts on learning at all. There is not a gleam of poetry in their compositions between the Scalds and Chaucer.'[2] This result, so unsatisfactory to a man with Walpole's Augustan taste in poetry, he was inclined to blame, quite unjustly, upon the author's plan, rather than upon his own complete lack of interest in the earlier history of poetry. 'In short,' he wrote, 'it may be the genealogy of versification with all its intermarriages and anecdotes of the family; but Gray's and your plan (Mason) might still be executed. I am sorry Mr. Warton has contracted such a affection for his materials,

1- Letter to Mason, March 23, 1774. Walpole's Letters. Ed. Toynbee [illegible] VIII, 432.
2- Letter to Mason April 7, 1774. Same. 439-40.

that he seems almost to think that not only Pope, but Dryden himself, have added few beauties to Chaucer.'

The second volume wearied him still more, 'I have very near finished Warton,' he wrote, ' but antiquary as I am, it was a tough achievement. He has dipped into an incredible ocean of dry and obsolete authors of the dark ages, and has brought up more rubbish than riches, but the latter chapters, especially on the progress and revival of the theatre, are more intertaining; however it is very fatiguing to wade through the muddy poetry of three or four centuries that had never a poet.'[1] With the third volume Walpole's antiquarian pose dropped away completely. If Mr. Warton was going to consider the 'Nut Brown Maid' better than Prior's imitation, he must feel alarmed at the drift of criticism. He expressed his comtempt for Warton's taste in admiring such verse, and his judgment in devoting so much attention to those barren centuries in English literary history, in no mild terms. But his criticism is a boomerang which returns upon his own inability to appreciate the merits of Warton's history without having discovered the faults which undoubtedly exist. 'This,' he said, 'is the third immense history of the life of poetry, and still poetry is not yet born, for Spenser will not appear till the fourth tome. I perceive it is the certain fate of an antiquary to become an old fool.'[2] Mason, in the same spirit, deplored Warton's 'antiquarian mud,' and thought that the best that was to be hoped for the history was that a selection

1- Letter to Mason, April 18, 1778. Letters. X, 216.
2- Same 1781. XI, 412.

of anecdotes might be made from it.'[1]

At the other extreme were the savage attacks of the antiquarian Ritson, who, approaching Warton's work from the opposite direction, failed as completely as the men of taste both to point out its real faults, and to appreciate its timely as well as enduring value. Ritson was 'merely an antiquarian' and a very bad-tempered one. He had no taste for poetry, no interest in the past as it survived in the present, no interest in literary criticism; he combined much of the nineteenth century passion for exact research with the acerbity of temper and virulence of abuse which marked the early seventeenth century religious controversialists.

Ritson's 'Observations on the three first volumes of the History of English Poetry. In a familiar letter to the author' published anonymously in 1782, with characteristic affrontery was printed 'in the size of Mr. Warton's History' as a 'useful appendix' to 'that celebrated work.' After an introduction full of mock deference and covert contempt, Ritson indicated the line of his attack. 'Whether you have gratifyed 'the reader of taste." by your exertions on this subject, I know not; but of this I am confident, that "the antiquarian" will have greater reason to be dissatisfyed with being perplexed or misled, than to thank you for having engaged in a task for which it will appear you have been so little qualifyed.'[2] Retson's accurate antiquarian knowledge, though inspired by the most execrable of bad tempers, was able to collect only 116 Charges of varying degrees of seriousness and importance against Warton's History, certainly a very small number to be gleaned from three quarto volumes, 1761 pages in all!

1- Letter to Walpole, Mar. 20,1781. Walpoles Letters Ed. Cunningham VIII, 18 Note.

2- Observations etc. p (3)

The specific points criticized range from an attack on Warton's excuse for neglecting the Anglo-Saxon period -- that it was not connected with the nature and purpose of his undertaking (a fault that Warton obviously felt, and that Ritson unfairly exaggerated by lifting from its context) to inaccuracy in dates of manuscripts, inexact quotations, incorrect glosses, and, most serious of all, the charge of plagiarism. The accusation that Warton was not always accurate may be admitted, though with the qualification that his inaccuracy is generally greatly overestimated, and was much more frequently due to the inevitable impossibility of ascertaining exactly every date and meaning and manuscript reading in so huge a work and in the infancy of the study of those subjects, rather than to any conscious lack of care on the historian's part, as I expect to show more fully in a subsequent paragraph.

The charge of plagiarizing is more serious, and, as greater heed is usually given to such an accusation than to the ill-nature that inspired it, or to the possibility of oversight in transcribing references when the number is so great, Warton seems to need a more extended defense at this point. Ritson made two explicit charges of this sort, and indulged in a good deal of innuendo. It must be admitted that three notes to Warton's text of Douglas's 'Description of May'[1] correspond to those of Fawkes's edition, published in 1752, and the conclusion that Fawkes was the source of Warton's notes is pretty obvious, but that scarcely justifies Ritson's acrimonious 'each of <u>these notes</u>, as you (Warton) well know, is <u>stolen verbatum</u> from the late Mr.

1- History of English Poetry. III, 384 (n), 385 (f) 386 (k).

Fawkeses Imitation of Douglas.'[1] And again, when Warton had taken an explanation of the 'hundred Merry Tales,' the supposed source of Beatrice's wit in 'Much Ado about Nothing', as the 'Cent Nouvelles Nouvelle's, from Stevens's edition of Shakespeare, Ritson's 'I found that, according to your usual and laudable custom, you had been pecking and pilfering from Mr. Stevenses notes upon it,' goes beyond the deserts of the case. It is easily conceivable that references should have been omitted, either by oversight or accidental loss. The wonder is that there are not many more such accidental omissions. And Warton's evident care to quote the exact references to all his sources in his footnotes makes an accusation of dishonesty extremely ill-founded.

Ritson's temper is even uglier when he charges Warton with copying a poem from Percy's Ballads and then asserting in the notes that he had transcribed it from the British Museum and written the explanations before he knew that it was printed in Percy's collection, giving colour to the accusation by the fact that the same mistakes--including the omission of a stanza--occur in both transcripts. We have here a question of Warton's word against Ritson's, with a considerable weight of bad temper on one side against a simple and common explanation, such as is usually accepted at its face value, on the other, with the possibility of a perfectly plausible explanation that both Percy and Warton received their transcripts from a common friend.[2]

1- Observations p (24)
2- It is, of course, too much to suppose that Warton actually made all the research necessary for so huge a work, unassisted, and in the comparatively short time he must have given to the work, and that not wholly free from other interests. His letters indicate that he received much assistance from obliging friends. Letter to Price. August 18, 1780. Mant. LXXVIII.

After his assembly of 116 mostly petty errors in Warton's History, Ritson concluded with an insulting attack upon the whole, unworthy of a scholar of Ritson's ability, and, it would seem, so far overshooting the work, as to destroy its intended effect. 'If your collections had been authentic, though of themselves no history, nor capable, in your hands, of becoming one, they might at least have been useful to some subsequent writer better qualifyed for the purpose. But we see (as has been here sufficiently proved) you are not to be relyed on in a single instance (a generalization for which he had certainly given slight basis); the work being a continued tissue of falsehood from beginning to end. Suffer me, as a friend--to your subject, at least,--to recommend' that you revise the whole 'that the work may not remain a monument of disgrace to yourself and to your country.'[1]

Mant, Warton's biographer, says that 'an intimate friend of Mr. Warton (had) informed (him) that he neither allowed the justness, nor felt, though he might lament, the keenness of the censure.'[2] But that Warton did feel the attack is plainly shown by the replies made to Ritson's Observations in letters written by Warton himself[3] and by his friends [4] in his behalf and publish-

1- Observations etc. (48)
2- Memoirs. Mant's Ed. of Warton's Poems. 2 Vols. 1802. I,LXVIII
3- The letter signed 'Verax' in Gent. Mag. LII,527, is said by nichols to have been written by Warton. Literary Anecdotes. VI, 182. Nichols printed in his Illustrations of Literature, IV, 739 a letter from Warton, dated Nov. 3, 1782 asking that an enclosed letter be inserted in the Gent. Mag. for that month, if possible, and enjoining the strictest secrecy. This must refer to the "Verax" letter, which appeared in that number of the magazine.
4- Those signed 'A.S.' are from the elegant pen of Mr. Russell, fellow of New College, etc.' Mant's Memoir. I, LXC note.

ed in the Gentleman's Magazine, where a fierce war of words waged for some time.[1] And it must be insisted that Warton's party showed ability equal to Ritson's without any of his spleen. Ritson seems never to have abated his abuse of Warton,[2] though after his death he expressed an intention to 'treat his ashes with the reverence I might have bestowed on his person'; and mingled a regret that he was 'introduced, not always in the most serious or respectful manner,' in a recently written work with characteristic abuse of the bookseller who chose not to publish 'till both the editor and all his friends and enemies (were) buried in oblivion.'[3]

Although it may appear from the opinions just quoted that Warton failed to please both classes of readers to whom he had appealed in his preface,--that he was not entertaining enough for the man of taste, nor accurate enough for the antiquary,--it must not be assumed that the work failed to have even an immediate success. Besides the caution that Walpole was too much an Augustan in his taste for poetry, and Ritson too ill-tempered in his hostility toward every other antiquary, for either to be a very competent critic or Warton's History, it is even more important to recognize that Warton had a higher ideal than simply to please either the

1- Gent. Mag. LII, 527; 571-5; LIII, 42-6; 126-7; 281; 416.
2- Mant supposed his structures somewhat softened in the Preface to Minot's Poems (Anon) 1795, but the references to Warton there seem to me no less hostile, though perhaps somewhat thinly veiled by irony. 'Its author,' he says of the distorian of English poetry, 'confident in great and splendid abilities, would seem to have disdained the too servile task of cultivating the acquaintance of ancient dialect or phraseology, and to have contented himself with publishing, and occasionally attempting to explain, what, it must be evident, he did not himself understand.' Pref. p IX.
3- Ritson's Letters. Ed. Nicholas. 2 Vols. London 1833. I. 168. Letter to Mr. Walker. June 25, 1790.

man of taste or the antiquary, or both: he aspired to write the history of English poetry, and he took a broader and more comprehensive, and, at the same time, more single view of his subject than either type of reader was able to comprehend. That he aspired to be, and was, something more than the mere man of taste is obvious; that he was something more than a mere antiquary has not always been so fully recognized. The distinction is one he recognized clearly himself[1], and there were not a few of his comtemporaries who realized that in this work he combined the enthusiasm of a poet, the discrimination of a critic, the research of an antiquary, the broad view of an historian, and the genuine human interest of a teacher, and that it was this rich blending of qualities that made his history transcend its faults, and become a 'classic'[2] upon its first appearance. 'This elegant writer', says the reviewer for the Gentleman's Magazine, 'already well known to the learned world as a poet, a critic, and an antiquarian, opposite as those characters seem to be, has here in some measure united them all.'[3] The Monthly Review hailed the History as a 'capital work,...replete with entertainment and erudition'[4] and even showed some appreciation of its less obvious merits:- 'It is not Mr. Warton's principal merit, that he investigates his subject with the patience of an antiquary and the acuteness of a critic, from his accurate delineation of character it is evident that he has inspected the manner of mankind with the penetrating eyes of a philosopher.'[5] Gibbon appreciated the value of his

1- He dismissed Harding's Chronicle as 'almost beneath criticism and fit only for the attention of an antiquary.' II, 157.
2- C. K. Adams.A Manual of Historical Literature. 1882. p 501. (From Moulton's Library of Literary Criticism. IV, 74.
3- Gent. Mag. 1774. XLIV, 370
4- Monthly Review. 1774, 50, 297.
5- Monthly Review. 1782, 66, 162.

study of the progress of romance, and the state of learning in the middle ages, which he said were discussed 'with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian.'[1]

Sir Walter Scott, who combined some qualities of both the man of taste and the antiquary with a creative imagination that both they and Warton quite lacked, showed in his appreciation of the spirit of the past for the sake of its share in the reality of the present,[2]--a departure from the earlier study of the past for its own sake, which marked the antiquary,--a romanticism that seems to emanate from Warton's History of English Poetry, and its vitalization of the life of the middle ages.[3] Scott's criticism of Warton's history is pretty just, except that he could not, of course, quite appreciate Warton's great contribution in the way

1- Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall'. 1776-8. Ch. XXXVIII note. From Moulton's Lib. Lit. Crit. IV, 73.
2- C. H. Herford, in his 'Age of Wordsworth', distinguishes two types of romantic mediaevalism, 'the one pursuing the image of the past as a refuge from reality, the other as portion of it; the mediaevalism of Tieck and the mediaevalism of Scott.' (Introd. XXIV. Note) He might have added the mediaevalism from which they both sprang, which pursued the part for its own sake (and was not properly romantic), the mediaevalism of the antiquary, of Thomas Hearne.
3- There were of course other large factors in Scott's romanticism and there was little conscious debt to Warton. (Quotations from his party in the novels and beading the **Minstrel**, show that he was well known.) But there is unquestionably a close resemblance between the two men, and in other respects than the one I have just mentioned, the similarity of their approach to the past, their enthusiastic love of the middle ages, combined with, and even depending upon a firm grasp on reality. Their qualities differ more in degree than in kind. Warton and Scott have similar antiquarian interests--more human than scholarly, perhaps,--similar love for the architectural art of the past, as well as for the life whose monument it is. They had also common unromantic qualities;- strong common sense, geniality of temper and love of sociability, tremendous energy, and conservatism in politics, religious and morality,--both were tories of the unromantic type, both strong Church of England men,--wholly free from mysticism,--and neither showed the slightest revolt against established moral standards.

of inaugurating modern methods of criticism. After regretting the neglect of system which he said came from the writer's too great interest in the fascinating details of his subject, he concluded 'Accordingly, Warton's History of English Poetry' has remained, and will always remain, an immense common-place book of memoirs to serve for such an history. No antiquary can open it, without drawing information from a mine which, though dark, is inexhaustible in its treasures; nor will he who reads merely for amusement ever shut it for lack of attaining his end; while both may probably regret the desultory excursions of an author, who wanted only system, and a more rigid attention to minute accuracy, to have perfected the great task he has left incomplete![1]

More adequate realization of the value of Warton's History came only as modern scholarly research pursued the path which he first pointed out, and attained thereby results which overtopped his only because built upon them; but unfortunately most of his successors have shown the too common disposition to 'scorn the base degrees by which they did ascend', and have looked upon but one side of the matter, comparing Warton's achievement in any particular branch of his large subject with their own in a much smaller one, and forgetting the dearth of assistance he had in every way--the inspiration of general interest, accessibility of authentic sources, clearly defined scholarly method, even the mechanical aids of book and manuscript catalogues, bibliographies and dictionaries. There is an unfortunate tendency to blame Warton for the defects of his age, for not having accomplished the impossible--not only in his own day, but, as yet in

1- Scott's. Miscellaneous and Critical Essays. 1804. I, 11

ours. I shall give only two short quotations, illustrating modern appreciation of Warton's History. 'He saw, by anticipation, some of the fruits which the comparative method might be made to yield; and, as a consequence, although he assayed a task too large for any man,[1] and achieved what is doubtless an ill-arranged and ill-proportioned fragment, yet he left the impress of his independent thought and of his vigorous grasp upon our literature, and traced the lines upon which its history must be written.'[2] 'But Warton's learning was wide, if not exact; and it was not dry learning, but quickened by the spirit of a genuine man of letters. Therefore, in spite of its obsoleteness in matters of fact, his history remains readable, as a body of descriptive criticism, or a continuous literary essay.[3]

With a view to defend Warton against the most persistent charges of his critics, those of inaccuracy and of indolence, I wish to present a brief survey of the sources from which he drew the materials for his history, as he indicated them in his foot-notes, to show their enormous number, their wide range, their authority, and the way he used them. Misleading as figures may be at times, a few will, I think, be illuminating with respect to the work before me. There are quoted in the notes nearly four thousand references to authorities consulted in the preparation of the history, exclusive of glossarial notes, illustrative passages and references to other poets, and bibliographical notes upon the works under discussion, all of which are very numerous,

1- For which he had examples enough in the encyclopedic works of his century. See Appendix C.
2- Craik, English Prose. Introd. IV, 8.
3- Beers History of English Romanticism in the eighteenth Century. 1899. p 205.

and, of course, entailed a tremendous amount of work. Of the references here considered, approximately seven hundred are to manuscript sources of information, nearly a thousand to historical or critical words,[1] -- more than fifteen hundred different authorities consulted.

It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the variety of books included in Warton's Citations, 'all such readings as never was read,' and much of it now not only superseded but forgotten. I can here mention only a few of those most frequently referred to, and most representative of the range of authorities cited, but anyone who will give even a few minutes to the study of the citations in Warton's foot-notes in the original editions will have a higher opinion of the greatness of the task, and the merit of the accomplishment.[2] The historical sources, of course, include the antiquarian, literary, historical, and ecclesiastical, that had abounded in the preceding centuries, from Bale and Leland to Tanner and Hearne, from Holinshed and Stowe to Lyttleton and Hume, and from Fox and Spelman to Strype and Oudin; they include the previous attempts at what may be called literary history, from Webbe and Puttenham to Nicolson and Cibber; they include glossaries of many languages, Herbelot, Du Cange and Carpentier, and Hickes; they cover foreign as well as English literatures -- Fauchett, Pasquier, Fontenelle, and St. Palaye, among many others, for France, Muratori and Crescimbeni for Italy, Bartholin Pontoppidan and Mallet for Denmark, and hosts of other that defy clas-

1- See Appendix C.
2- See Appendix. C

sification.[1]

Very naturally it is the historical compilations that are most frequently cited, but always with a discriminating sense of their value; Warton depended on them usually for facts merely; his conclusions and interpretations are his own. In the case of many writers whom he has quoted frequently, he has left an estimate of the author's work, which shows the dependence he placed upon him. The author from whose very numerous editions of old texts he quoted most frequently is Thomas Hearne, 'to whose diligence', he said, 'even the poetical antiquarian is much obliged, but whose conjectures are generally wrong.'[2] Leland he recognized as 'one of the most classical scholars of (his) age.'[3] Of Wood, though he is frequently quoted, I find no further characterization than a reference to 'his usual acrimony.'[4] 'Bale's narrow prejudices,' he said, 'are well known'[5]. Warton recognized the limitations of Bale's principal work while

1- It will be easier to enumerate the authors whom Warton apparently did not consult, and who, it now appears, might have been valuable,--not, however, with the implication that he was to blame for not doing so, or even with the certainty that he did not consult them, since he may have found nothing to his purpose. Literary sources which we might expect to find cited but do not, are: Reynolds, 'Mythomeste's,' 1633; Walton, 'Lives' 1740-70; Lloyd, 'Dictionarium', 1670; Winstanley 'Lives', 1687, (its source, largely Philips's 'Theatrum' is quoted); Blount, 'Censura', 1690 and 'De Re Poetica', 1694; (Jacob); 'Poetical Register', 1719, and, most curious of all, Dryden's critical essays. Although there are many references to Dryden's Plays and poems, there are only two minor citations from the prose, the 'Preface of the Fables', (I, 416 note (r), and 'Preface to the Spanish Fryer' (III, 448), and one general reference without exact citation. (III, 443).

2- I, 87. Hearne is cited 61 times, from 14 different works mostly editions of old texts.

3- III, 160. Leland's five principal works are cited 79 times.

4- III, 96. Wood's two great works are cited 73 times.

5- III, 316. 'The Puritans never suspected that they were greater bigots than the papists.' Bale is cited 46 times.

drawing upon it for facts not elsewhere obtainable;-[1] 'This work,....is not only full of misrepresentations and partialities, arising from his religious prejudices, but of general inaccuracies proceeding from negligence or misinformation. Even those more antient Lives which he transcribes from Leland's commentary on the same subject, are often interpolated with false facts, and impertinently marked with a misapplied zeal for reformation.'[2] The 'circumstantial Hollingshed' he characterised as 'an historian not often remarkable for penetration'[3], though his 'formidable columns' were full of minute details.[4] He expressed his appreciation of the work of 'the indefatigably inquisitive Tanner'[5], and the 'Manuscript papers of a diligent collector of.....fugacious anecdotes',[6] Coxeter. Warton was extremely gracious in acknowledging debts to his contemporaries:--'the late ingenious critic,' Percy;[7] 'M. Mallet, a very able and elegant inquirer into the genius and antiquities of the morthern nations.'[8] Tyrwhitt, 'an exact and ingenious critic',[9] 'my late learned, ingenious and respected friend, doctor Borlase;'[10] 'the reverend and learned doctor Farmer;'[11] and 'Mr. Price, the Bodleian Librarian, to whose friendship this work is much indebted.'[12]

1- 'Many of the manuscripts in monastic libraries examined by Bale and described in this work, have since been lost.' Dict. Nat. Biog.
2- III, 79
3- I, 232. Holinshed's History is quoted 33 times.
4- III, 47.
5- III, 429. Tanner is cited 18 times.
6- III, 433.
7- I, Disertation I, (22) Percy is cited 22 times.
8-
9- III, XCII Tyrwhitt is quoted 10 times.
10- I, I, (36)
11- III, IV
12- I, (8)

While Warton availed himself of every accessible source of information, he did not lean unduly upon later, and more easily accessible, though frequently less dependable sources. 'I chuse,' he said, passing over a recent memoir, 'to refer to original authorities.'[1] Again, he blamed himself for depending upon later authorities, feeling that he had fallen into error thereby,'I take this opportunity of insinuating my suspicions, that I have too closely followed the testimony of Philips, Wood and Tanner.'[2] The large number of manuscripts and of early printed texts which he quoted with great concern for dates, and careful citations of various other manuscripts and editions which he had seen and examined, or had found described only - he seems to descriminate carefully between those he had seen and those he had not, frankly admitting at times that he must quote only at second-hand--bear out his statement that he preferred to refer to original sources. His letters to his friends, too, are full of echoes of his quest for copies of rare books, and of his researches in book and manuscript collections in private and public libraries.

There are three notable facts about Warton's consultation of original sources: first, the novelty of the method in his day; second, the difficulty attendant upon it from the inaccessibility of materials; and third, a result of both, the difficulty of using them, because of inexperience and lack of training in deciphering old manuscripts. The practice of going to original manuscript sources is usually considered today a characteristic of modern scholarship, and especially as the method by which

1- I, (24) note g.
2- III, 293 note c.

modern scholars have surpassed the superficial studies of the eighteenth century.[1] And the belief is, in general, correct. But it is not often considered how much Warton contributed to introduce and popularize that method in his 'History of English Poetry.' Not only the new facts and the possibilities of absolute exactness which he revealed in this way, but his own very inaccuracies and misquotations have been a powerful stimulus--to others than Ritson--to the study of old manuscripts. And his calling attention to the wealth of material that lay beyond the reach of the ordinary reader, and even, as in the case of the Gower Balades, outside the knowledge of the literary antiquarian, must have been extremely important at a time when general attention was turning toward the treasures of the past.

The inaccessibility of materials was in Warton's day a very real problem. Not only ere manuscripts widely scattered as they are, though to a less extent, even today-through Cathedral and College libraries, private and public collections, the Bodleian Library, and the comparatively recently founded British Museum (and travel was not so quick and convenient in the eighteenth century as it is in the twentieth), but, even when permission to use them was granted, as it usually was,--Warton's notes and letters are full of gracious acknowledgements of favours of this sort--, all such collections were very poorly catalogued,[2] so

1- Bishop Percy's carelessness to preserve to integrity of his MSS. Ballads is the typical example of the eighteenth century methods.

2- The first printed catalogue of the British Museum was published in 1787, 2 Vols. Until then the general catalogue was in MS. folio. Encyclopedia Britannica. Eleventh ed. Daniel Price, the Oxford Printer, wrote in 1789 'A young man of this place is about making a Catalogue of all the singular books in this place, in the College Libraries as well as the Bodleian. Nichols. Lib. An. III, 699.

that finding a wanted book or Manuscript frequently meant actually ransacking a whole collection; and so little order prevailed among them that Warton complained that he was unable to find again a book that he had once consulted.[1]

Warton had the added difficulty, as a pioneer, that he had no training, little experience, and few examples, in the use of manuscripts. He was unskilled in old hands, and had no exact knowledge of the early forms of the language. With obviously the best will to be exact, absolute accuracy was clearly beyond his powers. And, while it would be folly to deny that his work would have been infinitely more valuable had it been entirely correct in details, it is certain that the value of having the rich and virtually unexplored field of English poetry from the eleventh to the seventeenth century brought to popular attention so ably and so interestingly at the beginning of the last quarter of the 18th century, is so great that it were over-exacting to demand more.

I have frequently referred to Warton's evident wish to be exact in his citations, and his care to give due credit to the authors from whom he borrowed. He rarely gave a general quotation from an author,[2] but almost invariably added in a note--his work is as full of notes as a doctor's disertation, and they are

1-T.W. to E. Malone. June 22, 1781. B.M. MSS. Additional 20378 No. 1. 'I have searched in vain for Marlone's Dido with the Elegy among Tanner's Books, which are squeezed into a most incommodious room, covered with dust, unclassed, and without a catalogue. Such is the confused and impracticable State of this Collection, that I have often been unable to find a Book a second time which I have seen not half a year before.'

2- There are perhaps a dozen unassigned quotations in each volume. By unassigned, I mean a general reference to the author alone, without the exact place of the quotation. Warton was not always exact in the use of quotation marks, but the note letter indicates the matter quoted, and, since Ritson's charges are met, there is no unacknowledged borrowing.

usually as accurate [1] -- the exact reference to book, chapter and page from which it was taken. In many cases he offered corroborative references to other authors:- Leland, Bale and Pitts, Hawkins and the Stationer's Registers; Wood and Fox, to choose at random from the notes.

It cannot be claimed that the result that Warton achieved with all his knowledge, industry, taste, genius, is a perfect history even for the period which it covers. A history of English poetry which will satisfy the scholar's demand for exactness, the critic's demand for just appreciation of poetical achievement, the historian's demand that the progessive development of poetry shall be portrayed, and which shall, withal, be eminently readable, combining accurate scholarship with literary qualities and popular interest in the best sense, such a history of English poetry remains to be written. But of the attempts that have been made the first was not the least effective. It combines in a remarkable degree scholarliness and general interest; a scholarliness remarkably exact for its time, and sufficiently accurate in method and general results that errors in detail have been corrected by following its own leading; a general interest that has been wonderfully stimulating to research in special divisions of its field, or in related subjects, again along the lines Warton suggested.

The principal contribution, aside from the facts of literary history which have been discussed in many preceding pages, that Warton's History has made to the whole subject, is in

1- Though not so full. Warton's habit of abbreviating names of authors, and titles of books makes it difficult for a reader who is not familiar with them, to look up the references.

the way of method. He first, it will be remembered, gained any idea of the progressive development of poetry, of the essential unity of the whole, of the relation of part to part, and to the whole. It must be admitted, of course, that in the disproportionate discussion that is given to some aspects of the subject, the relation of part to whole seems to have been lost sight of. It is true that Warton was unable to keep strictly to his subject; he was led aside by his endeavour to treat every aspect fully and then suddenly recalled by a sense of the extent of his plan: he was torn by conflicting passions, to treat his subject exhaustively, and, at the same time, broadly, and he never succeeded in reconciling that conflict. Romantic love of detail overmastered classical sense of form, but could not extinguish completely Warton's underlying conception of the unity of his whole subject, and the continuity of its history. Warton's history is at least, and for the first time, sufficiently full of the life of poetry to vitalize all subsequent study of the subject.

It is only necessary, I think, to recall the fact that Warton was not only the first to use the historical method, but that he first used the comparative method also to any extent. He had shown his clear perception of the close relation between national literatures in his 'Observations on the Fairy Queen', twenty years before the first volume of his History appeared. That perception, as well as his acquaintance with other literatures had grown during that interval, so that he was able to study mediaeval literature with some knowledge and understanding of its essential spirit, and its various modifications and developments in France and Italy, at least, as well as in England, and the

interrelations between them, and to discuss the renaissance in England with an insight such as none of his contemporaries possessed. He did not, to be sure, cover any very considerable portion of his field comparatively, but to have recognized its possibilities, to have shown how it might be used, and to have perceived that only by the use of that method could the history of a national literature be adequately written, this was of incalculable value in his day, and ours.

The great achievement of Warton's 'Observations on the Fairy Queen' was that it established Spenser's reputation on a firm foundation in criticism as well as in poetry. The 'History of English Poetry' contains a number of such achievements. As they have been discussed in detail in the preceding pages, it will be necessary here only to review them. First, of course, should be mentioned the study of mediaeval romances of which, though Warton's theory of origins be inadequate, his understanding of their close connection with the social and religious life of the middle ages, and the common source of all in the imaginative spirit of the age,--in romantic chivalry and deep-seated faith in the miraculous---, and of their influence upon succeeding ages and literature, is unquestionably penetrating. The studies in the beginning of the drama are almost equally valuable. The discussion of Chaucer is comparable to that of Spenser in the earlier work, and must be considered as contributing greatly to the establishment of that poet's reputation. Warton is certainly as useful and valuable a source for interpretation of Chaucer, as the more accurate Tyrwhitt for elucidation of textual difficulties, and here again his work has not been superseded, but only continued. The studies of Gower, of Lydgate, of Surrey, of

Sackville, and of numberless minors are remarkably illuminating in respect to the quality of the poet's work, his relation to his age, and his contribution to the progress of the whole subject. The digression on Dante, and on the history of criticism in France and Italy, have been spoken of as the conspicuous examples of comparative study, and as contributing largely to the study of Italian literature particularly. They, and the discussion of Scotch poetry and the causes of its difference from English, illustrate Warton's growing conception of the part played by racial characteristics and national temperament in the formation of a national literature.

That Warton's knowledge along literary lines was not simply an accumulation of 'cumbrous and amorphous learning'[1] is shown not only in his comprehension of the relations of part to whole and of the continuous progress so evident in the history of poetry, and his arrangement of his material in general to show that unity and continuity, but is even more strikingly proved by his ability to turn his knowledge to such a practical use as to determine the period to which a questionable work belonged, by the consideration of the literary characteristics of that period, and without any technical knowledge of its language. Warton's prompt disposal of the Rowley question meets a practical scholarly test of the best sort, in a way that reveals a real mastery of the field.

Judged by the same standards that Warton helped to teach us to apply to literary history at large, with reference to his inheritance from the past, the influence of the age in which he lived, and the inspiration of his own individual genius,

1- Craik: English Prose. Introd. IV, 8.

Warton stands out as easily one of the most important figures of the eighteenth century. He was at the same time the product of his age, and of his own genius. From the study of the past he had gained a quickening of the imagination, and a sense of that which is enduring and constant in human history, as well as a perception of that which changes from age to age; as he belonged to the eighteenth century, he had a strong fund of common sense, clear reasoning powers, an insatiable thirst for knowledge, a wholesome respect for authority; to these, genius enabled him to add poetical insight, rare sympathy and fresh enthusiasm. These qualities were not always perfectly blended. In particular, the extent of his knowledge exceeded his ability to reduce it to order: his enthusiasm for a theory or notion betrayed him into too quick an acceptance, or extended an application; rapidity of composition marred the finished style of which he showed himself at times capable, and too often precluded due selection of material. Warton was unable to free himself from many of the faults of his age, which he had inherited together with its virtues; but he added to them many of the conspicuous merits of the next century, which he was able in a most remarkable way to anticipate.

VIII

SUMMARY.

In a retrospect of Warton's life and writings one is struck, in spite of their variety of interest and subject, by an underlying singleness of purpose and continuity of development. Neither his life nor his work falls apart into well-marked periods. While it should not therefore be inferred that his work is all on a level, that it showed no growth, it is apparent that the influences which determined the expression of his genius were fairly constant, and his development pretty consistently in the same general direction.

The tendency which has been noticed to abandon one plan for another before the first was quite carried out, shows, indeed, a considerable range of activity, yet these interests were always more or less connected by their relation to his ruling passion. Warton's naturally vigorous imagination and his sensitiveness to impressions from without were early informed with a passion for antiquity which sought expression in a variety of ways: in poetry, in the study of old poets, of architecture, and of antiquities of every sort. This interest brought him into conflict with the established literary traditions of his age with the result that, standing as he did between the pseudo-classical period and the romantic reaction, he became one of the great forces in the new movement.

In poetry Warton freed himself almost wholly from the pseudo-classical conventions; he passed through a partly imitative period, in which the influence of his favorite poets, Spencer and Milton, was strong, to positively original achieve-

ment in the introduction of the romantic beauties of mediaevalism into poetry, and only less striking contributions to the return to nature and the revival of the sonnet form. In criticism his work was even more revolutionary. In the study of Spenser his really profound knowledge, not only of his, but of contemporary and antecedent poetry, enabled him approach his subject from the historical and comparative side, to show the existence of other standards than the vaunted pseudo-classical rules and the necessity of adopting more flexible critical principles, while his genuine admiration for Spenser and for his peculiar imaginative beauties led him to discuss his poetry not only with rare sympathy, but with real enthusiasm, qualities as new in criticism as they were valuable. This work had the additional value of setting upon the poetical revival of Spenser the final seal of critical approval. Warton's passion for literary antiquities found a more complete expression in his great scholarly achievement, the history of English poetry. In this masterpiece, with all its faults, he presented a fuller and more rounded study of the history of English poetry in its earlier periods than any compatriot had attempted, and such a history as was still wanting for most European literatures. Besides the priorityof such an achievement, Warton's history was marked by a new appreciation of the historical and intrinsic value of the poetry of the neglected periods which he studied with so remarkable a mastery of their details. Here again his use of the historical and comparative methods, his thoroughness in detail, his unflagging interest in his subject, his analytical studies of particular movements and periods with the purpose of pointing out their sources, nature

and development and their contribution to the progress of the whole, are equally valuable for their information and their suggestion.

While I have sometimes spoken of Warton as a romanticist as opposed to a pseudo-classicist, that term, as generally understood, only partly describes him. He participated indeed in the romantic enthusiasm for the past, for nature, for imagination as opposed to reason, the romantic revolt against the old restrictions and models in poetry and criticism, but he combined with his romantic tendencies a classicism that many of his successors overlooked. He recognized, however, a distinction between pseudo-classicism and real classicism and, seeing more in common with the classical spirit in the middle ages than in the boasted Augustan literature, he advocated a return to earlier English poetry as a source of inspiration for the essential qualities of sublimity, imagination and beauty of expression, which he felt were so conspicuously lacking in the poetry of his own age. For this breadth and sincerity of interest, for his impartial study of the progress and achievement of the human race in almost every accessible age and direction, Warton's ideals appear to have been neither exactly those of the romanticist nor the classicist, but broadly to have included both, so that his effort, and largely his achievement, was in the direction of humanism.

Appendix A.

Chronological Outline of Warton's Life and Writings.

1728 7/8, January 9. Born at Basingstoke, Hants.

1744 3/4, March 16. Matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford.

1746 Ode VIII. To a Fountain. Imitated from Horace, Ode XIII Book III published in 'Odes on Various Subjects' by Joseph Warton.

1747 B. A. Entered holy orders and became a tutor.
'The Pleasures of Melancholy ..a poem.' London 1747

1747-8 Poet Laureate of the Bachelor's Common Room.

1749 The Triumph of Isis, a poem. (1749)

1750 M. A.
Prems printed in 'The Student or the Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany! Vol. I.
'A Panegyric on Ale' (65-8) ' Job Chapter XXXIX'(278-9)
'Morning. An Ode. The Author Confined to College.'(234-5)
'The Progress of Discontent.' (235-8) of Winchester
'A description of the City, College and Cathedral etc.
London n.d. (1750)

1751 Fellow of Trinity College.
'Newmarket, a Satire." London, 1751.
'Ode for Music, as performed at the theatre in Oxford on the 2nd of July 1751 etc.' Oxford (1751)

1753 Edited 'The Union; or Select Scotch and English Pieces! Edinburgh. 1753.

1754 'Observations on the Fairie Queene of Spenser
Drew up statutes for the Radcliffe Library.

1755 Four Poems published in Dodsley's 'Collection of Poems by Several Hands. Vol. 4 London 1755.
April. Appointed Curate of Woodstock, Oxfordshire.

1757 Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

1758 'Inscriptionum Romanorum Metricarum Delectus'.

1758 Contributed to the 'Idler' Nos. 33, 93, 96.

1760 'Mons Cathorinae prope Wintoniani: poema.'

1760 (?) A Companion to the Guide, and a Guide to the Companion etc. London. n.d.
'The Life of Sir Thomas Pope' published in 'Biographia Britannica

1761 The Life and Literary Remains of R. Bathurst. 2 Vols.
'On the Death of King George the Second.' Published in Oxford Verses' on that occasion.
'On the Marriage of the King' Published in 'Oxford Verses' on the occasion.

1762 'Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser' enlarged second ed.' 2 Vols. 1762.

1764 Edited 'The Oxford Sausage: or Select Poetical Pieces etc.

1766 Edited 'Cephalas's Anthologiae Graecae'.

1767 December. B.D.

1768 Appointed Vicar of Shalfield, Wilts.

1770 Edited 'Theocritus' with Dissertatio de Bucolicis Graecorum. 2 Vols.

1771 Edited Fellow of the London Society of Antiquaries.

1771 October, 22. Presented to Living of Kiddington, Oxfordshire.

1772 'The Life of Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College.'

1774 'The History of English Poetry' Vol. I

1777 Edition of 'Poems'[1]

1778 'The History of English Poetry' Vol. II

1779 Third edition of the 'Poems, corrected'.

1780 'The Life of Sir Thomas Pope, second edition corrected and enlarged.'

1781 'The History of English Poetry' Vol. III

1782 'Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire etc. privately printed.

1783 Second edition corrected, enlarged and published.

1782 Presented to donative of Hill Farrance, Somerset.
Elected member of Literary Club.

1782 'Verses on Sir Joshua Reynold's Painted Window at New College'.
'An Enquiry into the authenticity of the Poems attricuted to T Rowley etc.' Second ed. Corrected same year.

1- The edition of 1777 is called ' a new edition', but there is no extant earlier edition, and I am inclined to think there was no earlier collection, though many of the poems had been previously printed in various forms.

1785 Elected Camden Professor of History at Oxford.
1785 April 14. Appointed Poet Laureate.
Edited Milton's 'Poems upon Several Occasions', etc.

1790 May 21, died, at Trinity College, Oxford.

APPENDIX B.

Twenty-six Unpublished Letters of Thomas Warton.

Clar.Pr. C.14, fol.162.

Dear Sir:-

I have received the Note, which is very curious and ingenious. If you please, as we are not yet got to the Dioscuri, I will insert it in its proper place, with due Acknowledgement as coming from you; as I have all along done with those detached Notes you have sent me, not belonging to the Epistola.

I shall be extremely glad to hear from you as often as possible, and am, Dear Sir,

With great Truth, yrs. very sincerely,

Oxon, Mar.30, 1768. T. Warton.

(to Jonathan Toup?)

Clar.Pr.C.13, fol.109.

Dear Sir:-

I will take care to make the alterations you mention. I am obliged to you greatly for the Emendations of the Scholiast. We are now printing the notes of the XVth Idyllium; and as no sort of Interruption will intervene, the work will be ready for Publication by or before Christmas next. As (I think) I told you before, your epistle is to succeed my Body of Notes. The work is in great expectation of your Longinus; and I should be glad if you would inform me, when we are likely to be favored with so valuable an accession to Grecian Literature. Perhaps you know that we are going to print at the University Press Xenophon's Hellenica on Hutchin-

son's size and Plan.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yr most affectionate Servant,

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon,

May 2, 1766.

(To Jonathan Taup?)

Auto. fol.a.4.

Dear Price:

What with Turtle-eating, Claret-drinking, etc., etc., I was so dissipated and hurried when I left Oxford, that I had not time to call upon you, nor to do many other things which I ought to have attended to before I came away. I am now recollecting my scattered Thoughts, and sitting down to complete the first volume of the History of English Poetry. which is to be published before next Christmas. Humphreys is well; and if any thing can be made of him Huntingford will do it, for he takes very great Pains with him. The Boy says he will write to you. It has left off all his crying fits, and I believe is now quite reconciled to his situation. In your library at Jesus you have a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's British Original. I wish you would look whether it appears to be of great antiquity; for it is pretended that it is the very copy from which Geoffrey made his Latin translation. I think you and I examined it formerly, and I believe the edges of the leaves are cutt too close. Pray compare and find out (Take notice I am not sending you on a search into that vile county

(South Wales) whether or so there is not a Squire Davies at Llanerk in Denbighshire, who has a very curious Library of Manuscripts; in which, as I am informed, there is a Copy of Geoffrey's original in the handwriting of Guthyn Owen a Welsh bart of 1470. By the way, Hall I think showed me in the Bodleian some Notes of the times of the Welsh Bards when they played for the silver Harp. Ask him about this. The trouble I am giving you puts me in mind of Antiquarian Gough, who called here last Thursday, but I was out at Dinner with the Bishop of St. Asaph. What News or Nonsense have you stirring in Oxford? Are you at Northbigh or in Jesus Common Room? Write to me, I am, Dear Price, yrs Sincerely,

T. Warton.

Winton, Aug. 16, 1773.

To
The Reverend Mr. John Price,
Bodleian Librarian,
At Jesus College,
Oxford.

Cl. Pr. 13, 83.

Dear Sir:-

In placing Rhunhinius's Notes **first**, we have acted according to your own Directions in a Letter which I inclose. If you mean to alter your first Design specified in this Letter, and to place your own notes after the Text, two or three Sheets (now worked off) must be cancelled. The Cancelling will be attended with some little Expense and Delay; but if you chose to have it done, I will present it to the Board. I am, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate

humble servt

T. Warton

Trin. Coll. Feb.4, 1777.

P.S. Please to return the enclosed.

Montagne fol. 48

Dear Sir:-

I am greatly obliged to you for your Information about the Author of the quarto Pamphlet written against me in Two Letters, the first dated at Emanuel College, the second at Hampstead. What a universal Caviller and Corrector! But surely, whatever may be done with a previous and separate piece of criticism, no bookseller would be found absurd enough to contract for a new Edition of Shakspeare after yours. I could disprove most of his objections were it a matter of any Consequence. To speak to one here, Dr. Farmer suggested to me the Calculation concerning the Gesta Alexandria printed by Corsellis, showing that the (Mss.burnt) was completed at Prisson a Sunday. I (MS burnt) told the Pamphlet makes some way at C(MS burnt)ge, under the Auspices of Dr. Glynne. But it (MS burnt) is too heavy to move much. Wn(MSburnt)ay, Dean Miller was here in (MS burnt), for a week. I found on my Taole on my Return nither, a present of Ritson's Quarto "with Compliments from the Author." We will have your new Rowley Anecdotes when we meet in town after Xmas.

I am, Dear Sir, your most faithful humole servant,

T. Warton

Oxon, Nov.3,1782.
To Goergge Stevens, Esq.,
At Hampstead Heath.
Hampstead, Middlesex.

Montagne 2 fol. 51.

Sir:

I should esteem it a great favour if you could lend me T. Randolph's Poems, printed at Oxford in 1637 (8), not 1640 which is the second edition. Please to send it by one of the Oxford Coaches. I am too sensible now little I deserve such Favours, after keeping your Walpole's Letter so long.

I am, Sir, your most obedient

humble servant

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon

April 13, 1783.

To John (Isaac) Reed, Esq.
At Staple-Inn
London.

Montagne d.2 fol.54.

Mr. Warton presents Comps. and many thanks to Mr. Reed - you were properly right in guessing why I wished to see this Book. I have been (with you) long searching for Comus at the end of this volume of Randolph. I shall make use (with due acknowledgement) of what you say about the Old Wives Tale and Comus, in your Biol. Dramatica (?). If you could communicate any thing more on that Point, deserving notice, it would be most highly acceptable. I think Mr. Bowle (Wilts) told me he saw a Randolph with Comus annexed. I shall see him soon and will inquire, I hope with success.

You may command me for anything at Oxford.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

April 19, 1785.

To John (Isaac) Reed, Esq.,
Staple-inn.

Montagne d. 18 f. 136.

Dear Sir:-

I beg the favour of you to continue your services for me at Kiddington till the second Sunday of February next inclusive. After that time, If I should want a perpetual Curate at Kiddington (which I believe will be the case, and of which I will give you due Notice) I should wish to appoint you above all others. But I beg you to say nothing (at present) to the Family at Kiddington of my thoughts of a perpetual Curate. I shall see Mr. Gore very soon, which you may tell him; and that I have emgaged you to attend the church to the 2nd Sunday in February, as above. If Bennet could call next Saturday, with your Account up to last Sunday, I will return the money by Him.

Dear Sir, your most obedient

Servt

T. Warton.

P.S. Please to tell Mr. Gore, that he would have seen me before, but that I have been hindered by Illness, and by business which could not be deferred.

Oxon, Nov.26, 1787.

Rev'd Mr. Mavor,
At the Academy,
At Woodstock, Oxfordshire.

Montague d. 18 f.135.

Dear Sir:-

The Curacy of Kiddington is yours for the next twelve months, and most probably will be so for a much longer time, as I have no thought at present of ever serving it myself. I presume you have no objection to the old Terms of Half a Guinea a Sunday. In case of a Burial on week days (a very rare case) you will please to charge me a (cr)wn each time. Fees for a Marriage, etc., are to be your own. You will please to begin on next Sunday. Whenever you wish to settle, that business shall immediately be done.

I am, Dear Sir, your very faithful

humble friend

T. Warton.

Oxon, Jan.28, 1788.

Rev'd Mr. Mavor,
at the Academy,
Woodstock,
Oxfordshire.

Eng. Misc. Cl. fol.85.

Dear Sir:-

You give me a most tempting Invitation to Camoridge. I am sorry it is out of my power to accept so much Kindness - my engagements for visit and parties in September have been long ago formed. The Trinity manuscript will,not be wanted till we arrive at the end of the present volume; I think with you, that I must------ Transcribe; and I will endeavor to arrange the matter so as to visit Camoridge at Christmas next, and to do the Business. My first volume, with many considerable alterations and accessions, is

quite ready for Press; and the Copy of the Friend is in great forwardness, so that I believe I shall be out 3 next April.

I see that Milton's L'Allegro and Il Penseroso went into Dryden's Miscellanies (vol.1) edit. 1716 4th edit. I am informed that Fenton superintended that edition. I should be glad to know the history of the progress of that Miscellany and what new insertions were successively made. I am almost sure that those two Poems were not in the earlier editions. Could Mr. Reed edify me in this point? Any hints you could gather from Dr. Farmer for my Notes would be highly acceptable. I wrote to Mr. Reed some months ago about editions of Milton's Poems, but have not yet had the favour of an Answer. Dr. Farmer perhaps has got a thing called the Cyprian Academy by Robert Baron 1649, 12 mo. This author has pillaged very long passages from Comus, etc. I have the Book, We have one, and but one edition of Googe's Pelingenius in the Bodleian. I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

T. Warton.

Southampton, July 27, 1789.

P.S. I am just now very loco-motive, but a letter is sure to find me at Dr.Warton's, Winchester.

George Steevens, Esq.,
At Hampstead Heath,
Hamstead,
Middlesex.

MSS. Sixteen Letters of T. Warton to E. Malone.

Additional. No. 30378. British Museum.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

Mar. 19. 1785.

Dear Sir.

By a Coach of next Thursday you will receive the Venus & Adonis. It is bound up with many other small poets, the whole making a Dutch-built but dwarfish volume. Had I seen your Advertisement, I should have answered it immediately. Wright's Preface shall also be sent with Shakespeare's Poem. Our friend Dr. Tanner is too much in luck. I cannot decypher B. M. I once saw Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1599, in the hands of Mr Thompson of Queen's Oxon, a curious collector. I think Tom Davies bought his books. I picked up my Venus & Adonis in a petty shop at Salisbury, where books, bacon, red-herring and old iron were exposed to sale. If you could lend me B. Googe's "Eglogs, epytaphs and Sonnets" 8vo, 1563 I shall be much obliged to you. I once had them. In my little volume (to be sent next Thursday) you will find the first edition of (Daniel's) "Tragedie of Cleopatra", 1594. See Mr Steevens's Note, last edit. Shakesp. vol viii. p 124. I have access to the Countess of Pembroke's "Tragedie of Antonia", 1595. 8vo. I have seen Lowin's picture:- Half length, large as life, a spreading hand, dark cloaths, with a hand lifted up seemingly in the attitude of Speaking. I can conceive it to be a likeness, for there is much comic character in the countenance. A small red beard. Picture marked on one side of head, "Aetat. 64, A.D. 1640". on the Ashmole's Museum. Your commands will always be executed with the greatest pleasure, by, Dear Sir, Your most faithfull humble servant

T. Warton.

To Edmund Malone Esq.
Queen Anne's Street East.
London.

Dear Sir.

We have not a single edition of Fleckno's Essays in the Bodleian. If the Edition you want is not to be found, you can do nothing but print your Suspicions. But in searching, I fell upon one R. Flecknoe's Epigrams, written from 1635 to 1670, in four or five Books; one of which is called Theatrical, and which I went through with some curiosity, but nothing occurred of any value or consequence. I fear I have nothing about old Scenery but what has already been thrown out in my H. of English Poetry. Inigo Jones was certainly a great Improver in this business, and did much as you know in Jonson's Masques. I am, Dear Sir, most faithfully yours. T. Warton.

Oxon. May 14th. 1787.

Edmond Malone Esq.
Queen Anne's Street East.
London.

Oxon, March 30th., 1785.

Dear Sir.

The copy of Wright's Country Conversation which I have seen is in the Bodleian library. But I will procure a transcript of that part intitled of the Modern Comedies. Henry Chattle's Kind Hart Dreame, a thin quarto black&lettered, is at Winchester: but I shall be there the first week in May, and will send it you. Your new arrangement of Shakespeare's plays, I wish to see at your leisure. I have returned Milton's Mask to Mr. Read. A good engraving of old Lowin will be a most proper and interesting ornament of your new edition. The Custos of the Ashmolean is absent at present; but I fear, from the rules of the place he cannot permit the Picture to be sent to Town. However, when he returns, I will make the strongest application to him for permission. He is Dr. Sheffield, Provost of Worcester College. In case we should not succeed in getting the picture to town, you have no other way but to send an engraver hither to take a copy, which he might do in one of the Apartments, or Studios of the Museum. But I will talk the matter over thoroughly with Dr. Sheffield, and send you the result in a few days. I am sure it will make an excellent head. I will also enquire how the picture came there. I find one John Lowin (perhaps his relation) ejected from Christ Church Oxon, in 1648, for his loyalty, by Cromwell's reforming Visitors. Here is an edition of Venus and Adonis 12mo, 1602. Perhaps a mere repetition of 1600. This, if you wish it I will examine. Iam, Dear Sir, Your most faithful humble servant.

T. Warton.

To Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East, London.

Dear Sir

Excuse more last words. A notice relating to the subject of Shakespeare's pictures has been overlooked.(See Shew, John J. vol.i. p. 213 seq.)

Dryden has an Epistle to Sir Godfrey Kneller, (Epistles in his Orig. Poems Glasg. vol.ii. 133.) in which are these lines,

Shakespear, Thy gift, I place before my sight,
With reverence look on his majestic face etc.

In the margin is Dryden's Note "Shakespear's picture drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller and given to the author." From what picture of Shakespeare did Kneller make this copy? The Poem was written (as appears by the title) while Kneller was Serjeant Painter to the KingWilliam. An inquiry into the matter might ascertain some points now but very imperfectly known. I am, Dr Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.
May 27th. 1785.

To Edmund Malone Esq.
Queen Anne's Street East.
London.

Dear Sir.

I am [at] a friend's house in Hampshire with a small study of old fashioned Books. Here I find "A Description of the Queens (Elizabeth) Entertainment in Progress at Lord Hartfords at Elmtham in Hampshire, 1591.4to. Lond. Bl. Lett. I have seen it before,but never inspected it carefully, till now. Her Majesty, having been pestered a whole afternoon with Speeches in verse from the Three

Graces, Sylvanus Wood Nymphs & Water Nymphs, is at length addressed by the Fairy Queen, who presents her Majesty with a Chaplet. "Given me by Auberon (Oberon) the Fairy King." I leave the inferences, if any, to you. Lord Hartford's Poet on this occasion was not a bad one, and I have seen some of the Copies in the Miscellanies of the times. Dear Sir, Your most faithfull humble servant.

T. Warton.

Odiham, Hants.

Jul 29. 1785. Headquarters for a month at Winchester.

To Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East,

London.

Dear Sir

I left Oxford more than a month ago, and am now at the house of a relationnear Portsmouth, where I am at this moment favoured with your Letter. I am exceedingly sorry to be so far away from Oxford, as to be hindered from accomodating you immediately with the Venus & Adonis. If I should be at Oxford within three weeks, I will send it. Upon Recollection, Dr. Farmer has a copy, who will undoubtedly lend it with pleasure. You flatter me much in your opinion of my last Ode. My Brother is here and sends his best Còmpliments. He wishes to know if Mr. Boswell ever received from him, two of Dr. Johnson's Letters about the Adventurer. Thanks for your hint about the Megarion.

Iam, Dear Sir,

very sincerely yours.

T. Warton.

Purbrook-Park

Near Portsmouth, Jul. 29th, 1787.

Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East.

London.

Purbrook. AUG.17th.1787.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the Southampton-Memoirs, which are curious and were much wanted. I will look into Titchfield Church: in the meantime I answer such of your Queries as I can at present. Titchfield is a very Considerable village, almost approaching to the appearance of a little country town: a parish of itself. Mr. Deline never lived at the House. The distance from thence to Beaulieu (crossing Southampton Water) cannot be more than ten or eleven miles. Beaulieu Abbey was granted to Thomas Wriathesley, the first Baron, as was Titchfield. He had other large grants of Abbey Land in Hampshire. At Beaulieu there are fine monastic remains: the Abbots Hall is turned into the Parish Church. An old mansion house is formed out of the Abbey Buildings, perhaps by the said Thomas. I could be more particular if you should think it necessary. For the evidence of the grant of Beaulieu to baron THomas, see Tanner's Notitia Monastica, under Hampshire, edit. folio. The Earls of Southampton had an old House at Southampton, still remaining with most of its old work about it, called Bugle-Hall, which I think was built by baron Thomas: but as I am frequently at Southampton, I could give you the fullest intelligence about this house if wanted. Beaulieu is in the New Forest, near the shore of South'ton water, not far from Calshot-Castle. Look

in Camden's map of Hampshire. I will write from Winchester next week with the Papers.

Many thanks for the hints for Milton. I think with you that the Italian poetry made this great change with the story of Venus and Adonis. Nothing occurs to me at present about it: but I will rummage when I get to Oxford, if the Jaws of your Appendix should remain open. What says Marino's voluminous Poem on the Subject? I know he is posteriour, but he might be examined. See if I have said anything in the 30th Idyllium of Theocritus. Elmsley and Tom Payne have the book.--- All about Constable must unavoidably be deferred. I think I have something about your Earl Henry in the Titchfield Paper at Winchester. I just now learn, that Mr. Delinè's Titchfield Estate is £4000, p. annum. Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

P.S. Letters will find me at Winchester for a month or more.

To Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street

East

London.

Dear Sir

I have been returned to Oxford three or four days, but could not write till I had seen the Provost of Worcester College, Dr Sheffield, who is keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

He is now come, and is willing to give you all the service in his Power with regard to Lowin's Portrait. As the Picture cannot be taken out of the Building, your artist must work in some of the Apartments of the Museum, and only from Eleven to Two. But I am in hopes of

getting a greater Indulgence of Time. If he will call on me (whenever he arrives)in a morning between Nine and Eleven, I will take care to conduct him to Dr Sheffield, and to plant him in the Museum. Do you want my little Volume? I think the Sonnets by H.C. are Constable's. But the Initials H.C. sometimes mean Henry Chettle, a Poetaster of those Times, of whom I have spoken in my 3rd. Volume---And in Beauclerc's Catalogue.

I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Oxon. 27th. Oct. 1787.

Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East.

London.

Dear Sir

I returned to Oxford last Sunday, where I found the favour of your Letter. Unluckily this having been a Holiday week, no access could be had to the Ashmolean. But by the assistance of a Pocket book now at Winchester (which I shall pass through tomorrow in my way to Southampton) I think I can settle many of your Queries about Aubrey. In the meantime see Mr Evelyn's (the great Naturalist) Letter to Aubrey, prefixed to Aubrey's Surry, in 5Vols, 8vo. Some other Prologomena there, may perhaps help you. Evelyn's judgment of Aubrey has great weight. I should have written before but was daily expecting the Opening of the Ashmolean. I stay one week at Southampton (setting out this afternoon) at Colonel Morgan's Above Bar. Then to town, Jan. 11th. at Prince of Wales Coffee-house. I appear in the Papers, not only as an Esquire, but as the author of a New Years Ode

which I never wrote. I am Dear Sir very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Oxon. 3rd. Jan. 1789.

Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street,

East.

London.

Dear Sir

I will examine Wood's Papers when I go to Oxford, but think I told you all I found in them. Wood talked to his sister in a splenetic fit: You will find him in other places talking in high praise of poetry, though not always of poets. Beasleim (whom I mention from Aubrey) was Dr H. Beasleim, Warden of New College. For Mr How (whom I mention as telling Aubrey something about Shakespeare) see my Second Edition of the Life of Sir T. Pope, at the end of the Preface. The Bishops lived at Brayles in Warwickshire, not far from Stratford. See Woods' A Y.Oxon. pp. 408. 466. 727. edit. 1721. I have seen many of Basse's Poems and have large notices about him and them at Oxford. In my volume of Milton, you will see a defence of Aubrey's character, at pp. 432, 433. Not having my Hist. of Engl. Poetry here, I cannot present speak about the "Judicious French Writer." I will examine Plutarch for the play you mention. I am deep im my Milton, and go to press with that work the 7th. of November. You shall have a full and exact Manuscript from Aubrey, with whom Wood was at variance. I find Mr Steevens meditates a new Shakespeare.

I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Winton, Sept. 30th, 1789.

Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East.

London.

William Basse.

I have printed a recommendatory Poem to Basse in my Life of Dr Bathurst, p. 288. I think I saw His Poems* in Mr Bowles' study at Id minstone. He has a Poem in the Annalia Dubrensia on Cotswold Games. Something about him is in Peircy's Ballads, see Vol. iii. inthe Additions of the Edition.

Aubrey's M.S.Lives.

Dr Farmer is mistaken. Aubrey's intelligence from Beaston was about Spenser not Shakespeare. See Life of Bathurst, p, 154. That Wood used those Lives for his Athenae, see ibid p. 153. Many of Wood's queries to Aubrey, about anecdotes, etc, appear in the Margin. How they came to the Ashmolean I know not: they are there with other papers of Aubrey.

Dear Sir, You shall have Ben Jonson's Life soon. University Elections for the 2 last days have thrown everything into confusion.

Dear Sir, Very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Oxon. 21st. NOve. 1789.

*The Sword and Buckler etc. 1602.

Mr Bowles's copy is now in my collection: 1802.

P.S. We are at press most rapidly with Milton.

Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street

East

London.

Dear Sir.

There is such irregularity in opening the Ashmolean, that I have been more than once prevented from making the Transcript, when I had set apart time for that purpose. You shall have it in the course of the week. What I have said about Abraham Wright, I have had from Seniors of Saint Johns College Oxford many years ago, or from Wood, Ath. Oxon ii. 833. SAINt John's was a famous College for Play-acting. A good work would be, a History of the Stage, (of Plays acted by the Scholars) in the Universities, to be called " Theatrem Academicum" Ora etc. It might throw light on the History of the London Plays etc. I avail myself, with many thanks, for your hints to my Milton --John Wright died in 1726. Hugh Peters was of Trinity College Cambridge. I am, dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Oxon. Dec. 6, 1789.

Edmund Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street. East

London.

Dear Sir

I have lately been so much hurried by our College Audit, Milton's Proofs, and other literary Concerns, that I have not yet been able to find this Transcript of Jonson as I promised. But I have informed

Aubrey in order that I might answer your last; and I find my Transcript of Shakespeare (in the Life of Bathurst) is most minutely exact, as far as the Epitaph which you have in my writing. However, the word extemporary or extempory I cannot clear, as the last Syllable is confused and abbreviated. Year 18 is unquestionably right. Long Crendon (or Grendon) is in Bucks, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Howe (Aubrey's Contemporary in this College) was an admirable Scholar, a poet, and a most worthy character. I think I before referred you (for Him) to the end of my Preface of 2nd Edition of Sir T. Pope's Life. I give up Beeston [?] as the Warden of N.College; and now think him (with you) to be the Theatrical Man. You have all about Shakespeare which is in Aubrey. I will find the Jonson soon and am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

16th. Dec. 1787.

Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Annes Street East.

London.

Dear Sir.

The enclosed is an accurate Transcript, and preserves all the singularities of writing in the original. The dashes are what Tom Hearne would mark by sic."Epistle" is for Ep. Dedicatory. Dr.Bathurst was born in Northamptonshire, bordering on Warwickshire; and intimate with many of Ben's old friends. It is more likely that Ben (being a Westminster Man) went to Trinity at Cambridge, than to Saint John's according to the biographers. Do you wish for any intel-

ligence about the Hoskin's, Bishop Skinner and Jack Young? I leave this place, on Tuesday, and return 27th instant. A Letter, during that time will find me at Edward Gore's Esq at Kiddington near Enstone Oxfordshire. I hope to be in Town about the 16th of January. I am really ashamed to have kept back this Transcript so long, but I have been overwhelmed with a Variety of business. I am, Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

Decemb. 20th, 1789.

Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street.

East

London--

Dear Sir

I will immediately write to my Brother to know what he means to give to Dr Johnson's monument, for we shall most probably give alike; and will as soon as possible tell you his Answer.

I think you need not be scrupulous about making my Uncle Danvers some older man that I have suggested (so asto hit on James first.) In my life of Sir Thos. Pope, I have said something of Danvers, 444, 445. And there is a Danvers and of this College, in Wood's Life or Diary. p. 311. Vol. ii. It is not however, necessary, that the Uncle Danvers should be restricted to this College. Nothing occurs in the Aubrey Papers. But I observe in a Letter from Aubrey to Wood, dated 1694, that Aubrey complains that Wood sent back the M.S. Lives 40 leaves short, cutt out and kept by Wood. You will have Davenant soon.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully yours.

T. Warton.

Oxon. Jan. 5th 1790.

Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East.

London.

Sir,

Ihave searched in vain for Marlowe's Dido with the Elegy among Tanner's Books, which are squeezed into a most incommodious room, covered with dust, unclassed, and without a catalogue. Such is the confused & impracticable State of this Collection, that I have often been unable to find a Book a second time which I have seen not half a year before. In the mean time there is much reason to suspect that the Bishop's intire Study never came to the University. I am obliged to you for the Conjecture about Tamburlain I have pointed out to Mr Downes a thin folio of manuscript miscellaneous poems, in which I believe are the pieces you wish him to transcribe. There is a good, I mean a more correct Copy of Doran's Epitaph on Shakespeare. And one or two pieces (a Sonnet and an Epitaph) signed W, Shakespeare. This Manuscript is about the time of Charles the First. If any thing should occur concerning Dido and the Elegy I will take care to send it. My Friend Mr Price of the Bodleian talks of a Catalogue to Farmer's Books, but I fear it is at a distance. The Bodleian Copy of the Life of Scanderby has Spenser's Sonnet, and not a bad one.

I am, Sir, with great Respect

your most faithfull humble Servant

T. Warton.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

June 22nd 1781.

To Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Anne Street East.

London.

APPENDIX C.

Bibliography of the Sources of Warton's History of English Poetry.

In compiling this list of references from the History, and especially from its copious foot-notes, I have selected only those from which historical information is taken. I have omitted mention of works of English literature either discussed or simply cited by way of illustration; to include these would have nearly doubled the length of this list. The titles are usually given by Warton in a greatly abbreviated form. While completing them I have indicated the form of the original citation by including within parenthesis all that I have added. When no dates are given by Warton, I have mentioned the first editions and those which would have been accessible at the time the history was written. The references to Warton's History are to the first edition. Since the pages of dissertations I and II are not numbered in that edition I have made the pagination consecutive through both dissertations, including the numbers in parenthesis.

Abbott, (George); Sermon (preached at Westminster at the) Funeral (of the Earl of Dorset. 1608)
III. 210

Abulghasi, Bahadur Chan(i); Hist(oire) geneal(ogique) des Tartars (... remarques ... par D Leyde. 1726)
Dis. I. (14)

Abulpharag(ii,Gregorii); Hist(oria compendiosa) dynast(iarum), hist(oriam complectens universalem ... Arab. ed. et lat. versa ab Ed.) Pocock(io. 1663, 1672.)
Diss I. (14); II. (86)

Aelian (Claudius); Varia Histor(ia Gronov. Gr. Lat. Lond. 1744. In Engl. 1576 ... 1677. Foreign eds. 1545 ... 1746)
Dis. I. (54); III. lviii

Agrippa, (Henry Cornelius); De (incertitudine et) vanitate scientiarum (declamatio invectiva 1527 ... 1584.) Engl(i)shed by

Ja.) Sanford (Lond.) 1569. (1575)
Diss. III. xxi

Alciati, (Andrew); Epistol(a contra vitam Monasticam. 1695, 1699 1708)
II. 413

Alcuin(us, or Albinus Flacus); Opera. Par. 1617. (1777)
Diss. II. (102)

Allard, (Guy); Bibl(iothèque) de Dauphiné. (1680)
Diss. I (20)

Allat(ius, Leo); De Symeon(um scriptis diatriba). Symeoni(s Metaphrastae laudatio ... 1664.)
I. 129

Ames, (Joseph; Typhographical antiquities; being an) hist(orical account of) Print(ing in England ... 1749)
I. 267, 440, II. 13, 121, 131, 167, 227, 241, III. 77, 279, 394, 423, 440, 484.

Alphonse, (Pierre); Disciplina clericalis.
Diss. III. xlii, lxvi, lxviii, lxxiii, lxxiv.

Anastasius, The Sinaite; Ὁ Ἁγιος ... Ingolst. 1606.
II. 176

Anderson, (Adam); Hist(orical and chronological deduction of the origin of) comm(erce from the earliest accounts ... 1762 1764.)
Diss. I. (255, 280, 426, II. 121, 147.)

Anstis, (John; Register of the Most Noble) Ord(er of the) Gart(er ... 1725)
I. 7, 116, 172, 248, 252, 253, 332, II. 134

Antonio, Nic(holas); Bibli(otheca) Hispan(a vetus. 1696.
I. 149, II. 82, 416, 417, III. 476; Diss. II. (118)

Apianus, P(etrus); Amantius, B(artholomaeus) Inscriptiones (sacro-sanctae vetustatis ... Ingolst. 1534)
II. 411

Aretinu(s, Aretine or Bruni) Leon(ard; Epistol(ae. Lib. II) Epistol(arum. Libri. VIII. 1535)
II. 411; Diss. II. (78)

Argentre, (Bertrand) d(e; L') Histoire de Bretagne ... (1588 ... 1684)
Diss. I. (4)

Aristotle, (Incipit liber de) secretis secretorum.
Diss. III. xix.

Arnolde, (Richard; Arnolde's) Chronicle. (1502)
III. 139

Ascham (, Roger ; Epistolae London 1581.
II. 380, 447, 441(4), 461, III. 24

Ascham (Roger; The) cholemaster, (1570) 1589.
II. 461, III. 24, 331, 415, 464, 491

Ascham, (Roger;)Toxophilus(1544) 1545, 1571.
III. 300, 331

Ashm(ole, Elias); Theatr(um) Chemic(um) 1652-9
II. 5, 135, 136, 137(6), 224, II. 85

Ashmole, (Elias; Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the) Ord(er of the) Gart(er. 1672, 1693 (repr.), n. e. 1715).
I. 252, 253, II. 336

Asser(ius,) Menev(ensis; Annales Rerum Gestarum) A(e)lfr(edi Magni.) Ed. (F.) Wise. (1722, 1772).
Diss. II. (98)

Atkyns, (Sir Robert; Ancient and Present State of) Gloucestershire. (1712. Ed. 2. 1768.)
II. 140, 159(2)

Aubrey; John (Natural History and Antiquities of) Surrey.
III. 26, 32(2), 216

Augustin(e, St. or St. Austin D. Aurelius; St.) Augustine of the City of God, (with the Commentary of) Ludovicus Vives. (Lond. 1610. 2" ed. 1620.)
III. 326

Aventinus, Jo(h)nnus; Annal(es) Boior(um. 1554, 1580).
Diss. I. (54)

Bacon, Roger; De util(itate) Scient(iarum. (Opus Maius).
Diss. II. (89)

Bacon, Roger; (Fratris Rogeri Bacon, ordinis Minorum,) Op(us) Maj(us ad Clementum Quartum Pontificum Romanorum. Ed.) Jebb, (Lond. 1733).
I. 101, 408, 439; Diss. II. (89, 147)

Baillet, (Adrian); Jugem(ens des) Sav(ans sur les principaux ouvrages des Auteurs. 1685, 1722, 1725.)
Diss. II. (131)

Bale, John; (Illustrium Majoris Britauniae Scriptorum Summar. 1548. Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brytanniae Catalogus. 1557)
I. 47, 85, 87, 126, 232, 287, 339, 439, II. 11, 39, 41, 62, 125, 135, 137, 195, 210, 212, 281, 321, 337, 387, 422

III. 59, 61, 43, 58, 79, 83, 86, 194, 195, 198, 200, 206, 212, 216, 316, 317

Baluz(e, Stephen); Miscell(anea; hoc est collectio veterum Monumentorum ... 1678, 1761.)
I. 294, 302, II. 411

Banier, (Antoine); Mytholog(y and Fables of the Ancients) expl(ained from History. 1739).
Diss. I. (26)

Baron, (Caesar); Annal(es Ecclesiastici. v.1. 1588. v.1-12 1595, 1596, 1597, 1601, 1609).
II. 370, III. 325

(Barrington, Daines); Observations upon the Statutes, (chiefly the more Ancient.) Ed. 1766.
I. 46, 453

(Barry, Girald); Itin(erarium) Camb(riae ... 1585).
I. 312, 406; Diss. II. (134)

Barthius, Casper, see also Claudianus.

Barth(ius, Casper; Advers(ariorum Commentariorum, libri 60 Franc. 1624).
I. 350, II. 218

Barth(ius, Casper; Comm. ad Guillermum) Briton(em de Gestes Philippi, Francorum Regis. Cygnea. 1656.)
II. 75

Bartholinus, (Thomas); Antiquitat(um) Dan(icorum libri tres) 1689.
I. 50, 127, 213; Diss. I.(14, 28, 31, 32, 46, 59)

Bartholinus (Thomas); Chron(icles of) Norway.
Diss. (I) (35, 42, 43, 44, 46, 53, 54, 69)

Bartolocc(i), Jul(ius); Bibl(iotheca magna) Rabbinic(a de Scriptoribus ... 1675. v.5, 1694).
II. 9

Battely, (Dr. John, Prebendary of) Canterb(ury; Antiquitates Rutupinae. Oxford, 1711.)
III. 386

Beard, (Thomas); Theatre of God's Judgments. (1597) 1631.
III. 289, 437

Beauchamps, (Pierre Francois Godard de); Rech(erches sur les) Theatres (de) Fr(ance) 1735.
I. 88, 118, 190, 217, 235, 246, 247, 463, 465

Becket, (S. Thomas a); Epistol(ae et Vita Divi Thomae Cantuariensis ... Brux. 1682.)
II. 431

Bed(a, The Venerable; Epistolae duae, et Vita) Abbat(um) Wiremuthensium et Gonviensium. 1664).
Diss. II. (94, 95)

Bed(a, The Venerable); Hist(oriae) Ecclesiast(icae ... 1506, 1583, 1550, 1601. Eadem, Latine et Saxonice ex Versione Aluredi Anglo-Saxonum Regis: accessen) Chron(ologia) Saxon(ica et Leges Anglo-) Saxon(icae cum Interpretatione Latina, cura) Abr(ahami) Wheloc(i) Cantab(rigiae.) 1644. Cant, (1664. Bedae Presb. et Fredagarii Schol. Concordia, 2 part. quarum prior continet) Hist(oriam) Eccl. Gent(is) Anglor (... 1681, 1722. In Engl. 1565, 1622, 1723)
I. 8; Diss. I. (40, 55), II. (93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 110, 112, 124

Bedwell, W(illiam) ed; (Description of Tottinham High-cross with an ancient Poem entitled, The) Tournament of Tottinham (by George Pilkingdon. 1623.)
III. 103

Belius (Matthias); Adparat(us) ad Histor(iam) Hungar(iae, sive, Collectio Miscellanea Monumentorum ... 1735-1746)
II. 418

Belleforest, (Francis de; Le Thresor des) histoires tragiques. (1581)
Diss. III. xxvi

Bembo, (Pietro; Della Volgar Lingua 1549, 1525) Hist(orie de) Venise.
III. 352

Benedictus, Alex(ander; De Bello Venetorum Cum Carolo VIII Gallorum Rege Anno 1497, Gesto lib. II. See Justinianus (P.) Rerum) Ven(etarum ...) histor(ia, etc. 1610 etc.)
I. 133

Bentham (, James; History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of) Ely (from the foundation of the Monastery A.D. 675-1771 ... Camb. 1771.)
III. 384

Bentinck, D. see Abulghasi Bahadur Chani; Histoire Genealogique ...

Berchorius (Petrus); Opera (1489, 1499. 3v. 1521 and 1523) 3v. 1583. (1609, 1684, 1730)
Diss. III. lxxxvii, xxxxix

Berchorius, (Peter); Reductor(um, Repertorium, et Dictionarium Morale utriusque Testamenti. 1474, 1499, 1631, 1692).
III. 108

Bergom(ensis, Jacob) Philip (Forest); (Supplementum) chron(icarum. 1483 ... 1513)

Diss. III. xci

Beveregi(us, Gul); Synodic(on, sive pandectae canonum apostolorum & conciliorum ab ecclesia Graeca receptorum, Gr. & lat. Oxonii,) 1672, (2v.)
II. 370

Biorner (Eric Jul; Nordiska Kampadater: volumen) histor(icum, continens variorum in orbe hyperboreo) reg(um,) her(oum) et pugil(um ...) Stockholm. 1737.
Diss. I.(68)

(Blackwell, Thomas); Inquiry (into the Life and Writings of) Homer. (1735) (1736)
III. 497

Blair, Hugh; Dissertation on Ossian. (1763).
Diss. I. (30), (54)

(Bleson, or) Blesensis, Peter; Opera ... Paris, 1519. (Mog. 1600. Paris, 1667.)
II. 430

Blom(e)f(ield) Francis; (An Essay towards a Topographical History of the Country of) Norf(olk ... 1739)
II. 461, III. 308

Blount, (Thomas; Fragmenta) Ant(iquitatis. Ancient) Tenures (of Land, and Jocular Customs of some Manors. 1679, 1784,
II. 206

Boccacc(io, John; Il) Decam(erone. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1492, 1510, 1527, 1537, 1550, 1552. 1555. 1566, 1573, 1577, 1582, 1584, 1587. In Engl. 1566, In Fr. 1552.)
Diss. III. xv, xxvi, xxxii, xlix

(Bodenham, J; Belvidere, or Garland of Muses. 1600
III. 280

Boerhaave, (Herman; New Method of Chemistry ... ; to which is prefixed, A Critical) Hist(ory of) Chemistr(y and Chemists. 1726) 1727. (1735).
Diss. II. (87)

Boethius, Hector; (Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine. Libri. XVII 1526. XIX) 1574, (1575, 1577. In Engl. 1587,) 1536, (1541. By) Davidson (n.d.)
II. 321; Diss. I

Boileau, Nicholas, see Despreaux, Nicholas Boileau.

Bolton, Edmund; Hyperitca (or Rule of Judgment. 1618(?) 1722.
III. 24, 278, 279

Bona, (John); Rer(um) Liturg(icarum. 1671, 1672).
Diss. I. (55)

Boniface, (Saint); Epistolae. Mogunt 1629.
II. 221

Boniface, Saint; Opera, a Nicolas Serrario. Mogunt 1605.
II. 221

Borde, (Boorde, or Burde,) Andrew, (or Andreas Perforatus); Introd(uction) to Knowledge ... (Lond. 1542.)
III. 70

Borlase, (William; Observations on the) Antiq(uities of) Cornwall, (historical and monumental. 1754.) 1769.
Diss. I. (4, 6, 7, 36, 48)

Borlase, (William; The) Nat(ural) Hist(ory of) Cornwall. 1758.
I. 237

Boul(ai, Caesar Egasse De); Hist(oria) Univers(itatis) Paris(iensis 1665-1673, 6v.)
I. 290, II. 347, 374, 375, 419; Diss. II. (112, 115)

Bayle; (Historical and Critical) Dict(ionary).
III. 164

Bradwardine, (Thomas); De Causa Dei (contra) Pelag(ium, et de Virtute Causarum. 1618.)
II. 7, 115

Brantome, (Peter de); Mem(oirs. 1741,
II. 414

Breuil, (Jacques) du; (Le Theatre des) Antiquites de Paris. (1612, 1622.) 1639. (Sup. 1614.)
II. 413

Brillon, (Pierre Jacques); Dictionnaire des Arrests, (ou Jurisprudence Universelle des Parlemens de France et autres Tribunaux. 1711) 1727.
II. 389

Brompt(on, John); Chron(icon ab anno Domini xlxxxviii. ac mcxcviii.)
I. 3; Diss. II. (97)

Browerus, de Niedek; De Populor(um) Vet(erum) ac Recent(iorum) Adorationibus, (Dissertatio. 1713.)
Diss. I

Browne, W(illiam); Works, (Containing Britannia's Pastorals, with Notes and Observations by the Rev. W. Thompson ... the Shepherd's Pipe, consisting of Pastorals, the Inner Temple Masque ... and other Poems: with the Life of the Author. Lond.) 1722 (3v. This Ed. was edited by) T. Davies.
II. 402

Bucer, (Martin); English Works. Basil 1577.
III. 450

Buchanan, (George); Rer(um) Scot(icarum Historia, apud Alex. Arbuthnetum, 1582, 1583, 1668, 1594. In English, 1690. In Latin, 1697.)
II. 125, 318

(Buc, or) Buck (Sir George; The Third Universitie of England; or A Treatise of the Foundations of all the Colledges ... within and about the famous Citie of London ... Lond. 1615.)
II. 38

Bullart, Isaac; Acade(mie des) Scienc(es et des) Art(s contre les Vies et Eloges des Hommes illustres. 1682).
II. 428

(Burman, Charles; Lives of those eminent antiquaries Elias) Ashmole, Esq. and Mr. William Lilly, written by themselves; containing, first, Mr.) Lilly's (History of his) Life (and times; with notes by Mr.) Ashmole ... (Lond. 1717, 1774.)
III. 496

Burmani, see Gruterus, James.

Burnet, (Gilbert); Hist(ory of the) Ref(ormation. v.1, 1679; v.2, 1681; v.3, 1714)
I. 240, II. 452, III. 197, 205

Burton, Robert; Anatomy of Melancholy. 1621, 1624.
I. 62, III. 296, 425, 434, 483

Bury, Richard

Diss. II. (121)

Camden, (William); Brit(annia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adjacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio). Lond. (8v. 1586 ...) 1600.
I. 57, 406, II. 426, 336, III. 401; Diss. I. (5), II. 1723 (99)

Calderwood, (David); Hist(ory of the) Ch(urch of) Scot(land. 1678)
II. 315

Camden, (William; Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et alii in) Eccles(ia) Coll(egiatae, B. Patri) Westmonas(terii Sepulti, usque Ad. An. reparatae Salutis, 1600. Lond.) 1600. (1603, 1606.)
III. 384

Camden, (William); Remains. (1605) 1674
I. 48, 70, II. 136; Diss. II. (115, 135, 136, 139, 140)

(Campbell, John); Mod(ern) Univ(ersal) Hist(ory) 1739.
I. 213; Diss. I. (14, 57), II. (89)

Campion, (Edmund; Orationes), Epistolae (&c.) 1602.
III. 401

Canisius, (Henry; Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicor, sive) lect(iones) antiq(uae ...) Ingolstadt, (1601)-4. Amst. 1725.
Diss. II. (92, 145)

Cantacuzenus, (John); Byzant(ine Historian wrote A) Hist(ory of his own times. 1543, 1603, 1645.)
I. 348

Capel); Prolusions 1760.
II. 138, III. 136

Carew, (Richard; Carew's) Surv(ey of) Cornw(all; to which are added notes illustrative of its history and antiquities, by the late Thomas Tonkin, esq. and now first published from the original manuscripts by Francis lord de Dunstanville. Lond. 1811) 1602.
I. 47, 87

Carpentier (Pierre; Added to Du Cange's Latin Glossary 1766). Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du Cang. 1766.
I. 98, 139, 158, 177, 178, 189, 210, 244, 245, 246, 247, 288, 303, 332, 388, 390, II. 169, 231, 317, 345, 349, 369, 381, 387; Diss. II. (143)

Cassiodorus, (Marcus Aurelius; Variarum) Epist(olarum, libri xii. 1533. Cum Animadversionibus ... 1595.)
Diss. II. (74)

Cassiodorus, (Marcus Aurelius; Op. Notis et Observationibus illustrata, cum Dissertatione de ejus monachata) opera (et studio Jo. Garetii. Rotomagi, 1679. 2v.)
II. 11

(Catalogus) Cod(icum MSS.) Bib(liothecae)reg(iae) paris(iensis ... 1739-44. 4v.
II. 20, 117

Catel, (Guil); Mem(oires) de l' Hist(oire) de Langue-doc. (1633).
Diss. I. (18)

Cato, (Dionysius); Disticha (de moribus ... Edited by C.) Daumiu(s. 1656, 1672.)
Diss. II. (119)

Cave, Wm; (Scriptorum Ecclesiasuorum Historia Literaria. 1688-1698) Append. by Wharton.
I. 256, 343, II. 40, 136

Cavendish, (William; The Life) of Card(inal) Wolsey. 1708.
II. 330, 429

Caxton, (William; Cy Commence le volume intitule le) Recueil (des Histoires de Troyes. n.d.)
II. 81

Caxton, (William; The) Golden Legend(e. 1483. In Engl. 1527.) 1493.
Diss. III. xi, xiv, xvi, xviii, xxii, xxv, L, lii, lxii, lxviii.

Celsius; Biblioth(ecae) Upsaliens(is) historia. 1745.
Diss. I. (58)

Cedrin(us, George); Compend(ium) Hist(oriarum, ex versione Guil. Xylandri, cum ejusdem annotationibus ...) Paris, 1647, (2v.)
II. 370; Diss. II. (88)

Celtes, C(onrad; Opera Poetica, scilicet) Amoru(m,) ... Norimb. 1502.
II. 376, 416

Celtes, C(onrad; Descriptio Urbis Norimhergae 1500 (An Historical Account of the City of Nuremberg. 1513, 1518.)
II. 376, 416

(Cervantes, Saavedra Miguel De; Don Zuixote. (1605 (1st part) 1608 (2nd part).
I. 412

Chaloner, (Sir Thomas); De Republ(ica) Angl(orum) instaurand(a libri decem ... Lond. 1579.)
III. 46

Chambre, (Willelmus de); Hist(oria de Episcopis) Dunelm(ensis, ... cum notis Hen.) Wharton. (1691).
Diss. II. (120)

Chapman, George; May-Day. 1611.
III. 279; Diss. III. iii

Chardin, (Sir John; Journal du) Voyage (de Chev. Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales ... 1686. The Travels of Sir John Chardin, into Persia and the East Indies ... 1686, 1711, 1735, 1811).
Diss. I. (14)

Chaucer, (Jeffrey or Geoffrey; Canterbury Tales. 1491(?), 1775-8.

Diss. III. xv

Chesne, (Andrew) du); Norman(orum Historiae) Scriptor(es antiqui ...) 1619.
II. 236

Chesne, (Andrew) du; (Historiae) Franc(orum) Script(ores Coaetanei ...) Paris (1636-41-49).
Diss. (21, II. (141)

(Le) c(i)ento novelle antike. (1525).
Diss. III. xxv, xxxii, xlix, liv, lviii, lxvi.

Cluverius, (Philip); Germania(e) Antiqua(e libri tres 1616) 1631.
Diss. I. (66)

The Chroniclis of Englode with the Frute of Timis.) St. Albans, 1483. (1480).
II. 11

Cibber, (Colley; Apol(ogy for his life, etc. Lond. 1740. 4th ed. with an account of the) Rise and Progress (of the English Stage. Lond. 1756, 2v.)
II. 391, 402

Clarke, (William; The) Connexion (of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins ... 1768.)
Diss. I. (24)

Claudian(us (Claudins); Opera quae extant, Casper) Barth(ins ope XVII Mss. exemplarium restituit, commentaris multo locupletiore illustravit. Francof., apud Jo. Naumann, 1650. 1654.)
I. 133
II. 75

Collier, (Jeremy; An) Eccles(iastical) Hist(ory of Great Britain. 1708-14).
II. 450, 452

Colomies, Paul, see Gyraldus, L. G.

Columna, (Guido de); Troye boke. 1477 etc.
II. 12, 91

Comines, (Philip de; Memoires) de Louis XI (Charles VIII enrichis par Monsieur Godefroi, et augmentis par l'Abbe Luglet du) Fresn(oi. Lond. 1747.)
Diss. II. (86)

Conon, (Grammaticus); Narrat(iones quinquaginta) see Gale, Th.

Cooper, Mrs. Elizabeth; Muses Library. Vol. I, 173(7)8.
I. 107, III. 12

Conring(ius, Hermannus); De Script(oribus XVI post Christum natum saeculorum commentarius etc.) Wrotesl(aviae 1703, 1707) 1727).
I. 440, 441, 443; Diss. II. (89),(99)

Corbet, (Richard; Certain elegant) Poems. 1647. (1672).
III. 170, 171

Croix, (M. Petit) de la (Francis; A New) Hist(ory of) Genghiscan, (the first Great Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. Par. 1710 1716. In Egnlish. Lond. 1722).
Diss. I. (14)

de la Croix, see Verdier, (Les) Bibl(iotheques) Fr(ancoises de la Croix du Maine et de du Verdier. n.e. 1772).
(I. 338, II. 62, III. 349); Diss. III. xx

Crescimbeni, Giovanni Mario ; Istoria della volgar Poesia. (Rom 1698) Venezia 1731.
I. 66, 139, 217, 338, 345, 463, II. 222, 418, III. 477

Crusiu(s, or Kraus,) Martin; Turco-Graeciae (libri octo, utraque lingua edita Quibus Graecorum status sub imperio Turcico, in Politia et Ecclesia, Oeconomia et scolis ... luculenter describitur. Basil 1584.) 1594.
I. 348, 350, 351

Cuspinian, (John; De Caesarib(us et Imperatoribus Romanorum. 1519, 1540, 1561, 1601.)
Diss. II. (89)

Danois, (The Countess of); Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, a la Hage. 1691. The Lady's Travels into Spain; or, A genuine Relation (of the Religion, Laws ... of that Country, in a series of Letters. 1774.
Diss. I. (20)

Dante, (Alighieri)L Infern(o, e'l) Purgat(orio, e'l) Par(adiso. 1502...1552.)
I. 354, 366, 390, 463, II. 197, 216, 300, III. 236

Daret, Pierre, see Moncornet, Baltazar.

Davies, (Miles; Icon Libellorum; or A) Crit(ical) Hist(ory) of Pamphlets. (Lond. 1715).
II. 336

Davison, (Francis; Poetical Rhapsody; containing divers sonnets, odes, elegies, madrigals, and other) poes(ies, both in rime and measured verse. 1608, 1611.) Fourth (impression ...) 1621. (1814)
III. 32

Dee, J(ohn); Compendious Rehearsall ... 1592.
II. 379

Delriu(s, Martin Anthony); Disquis(itionum) Magic(arum libri sex. 1599-1600, 1603, 1608, 1612, 1616, 1624.)
I. 401

Dempster, (Thomas; Nomenclatura) Scriptor(um) Scot(orum: Bononiae, 1619, 1620. Printed with Apparatus ad historiam scoticum) ... 1622.
I. 771, 321, 322, II. 125, 321, 335; Diss. II. (102, 147)

Dekker, (Thomas; The Gul's Horne-booke. 1609.
III. 426

(Despreaux, Nicholas; The) Art (of) Poet(ry from the French.

1683.)
I. 382

Diaconus, Paulus; (De origine et) gesti(s rerum) Longobard(orum ... 1595.)
Diss. III. xxv

Dict(ys) Cretens(is et) Dar(es) Phryg(ins ... in usum Delphini c. interpret. Annae) Dacer(iae ...) Amstel(od). 1702.
II. 83

Dio(dorus Siculus; (The Historical) Lib(rary of) Dio(dorus the Sicilian. 1700, 1721.)
Diss. I. (54, 66)

Ditmar(us, Bishop of Mersburgh); Chron(icon ad fidem codicis dresd. denuo recensuit ... 1580, 1600, 1664, 1667)
Diss. III. lxvii

Dodsley (, Robert; Select Collection of) Old Plays. (1744).
I. 210

Dow, (Alexander); Tales, (translated from the) Persian (of Inatulla of Delhi. 1768).
I. 421

Drake, (Francis; Eboracum; or, The History and Antiquities of the City of) York (... 1736).
Diss. I. (36)

Drayton, Michael; Herocal Epistles. 1598.
I. 117, 409, III. 5, 7

Drayton, Michael; Idea. The Shepheards Garland. Fashioned in nine Eglogs ... 1593. Eclogues ed. 1753.
III. 14

Drayton, Michael; To Henry Reynolds ... (of Poets and Poesie 1627) Works. 1759.
III. 41, 446

Drayton; Pololbion. 1613, 1622).
I. 406; Diss. I. (50)

DuCange, (Charles) du Fresne; Gloss(arium ad scriptores mediae et infiniae) Gr(aecitatis, in quo) Gr(aeca voc(abula ... Accedit) append(ix... una cum brevi) etymol(ogico) ling(uae) ex utroque glossario. 1688)
I. 62, 129, 131, 178, 303, 349, 361, 378

DuCange, (Charles du Fresue, Sieur); Gloss(ary of) Law) Lat(in, or) Gloss(arum ad scriptores) med(iae et) inf(imae) latinita-(tis. 1678. 3 vols.) Ind Auct. (1772-84. 3 vols. added by St. Mour. Paris 1733-6. 4 vols. added by Pierre Carpentier Paris 1766)

Du Cange, (Charles du Fresne, (Ed.; Jean de) Joinville's Histoire de St. Louis. Paris 1668).
I. 73, 107, 167, 159, 164, 173, 245, 354

Du Cange, (Charles du Fresue, Lieur; Constantinop. Christ.
I. 129

Ducarel, (Andrew Coltee; A Series of above two hundred) Anglo-(Gallic, or) Norman (and) Aquit(aine Coins of the ancient Kings of England ... 1757.)
I. 64; Diss. I. (36)

Dugdale, Sir Wm.; Antiquities of Warwichshire etc. (1656. 2nd ed. 1718, 3d 1763-5) 1730.
II. 140, 159, 362

Dugdale, Sir Wm.; The Baronage (of England. 3 vols. 1775-6).
I. 212, 377, III. 8, 10, 42, 43, 46, 58

Dugdale; History of St. Paul's (Cathedral in London ... (1658) (2nd ed. Magnard 1716.)
I. 210, 248

Dugdale, Sir William and Dodsworth, Roger; Monasticn Anglicanum, (sive Pandectae Coenobiorum Benedictorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem etc. 1655-61-73, 1693, 1718.
I. 3, 88, 116, 145, 177, 247, 248, 281, 288, 290, 308, 303, 430, II. 208, 221, 374, 429, 430, 447, III, 153(2).
Diss. I, (28), II. (-6, 107, 101, 114, 117, 118, 121)

Dugdale, Sir Wm; Origines Judic(iales, or Historical Memorials of the English Courts etc. 1666, 1671, 1680, 1685, 1737).
II. 398, 399, 405; Diss. I. (28)

Dalrymple, (Sir) D(avid); Annals of Scotland, (from the Accession of Malcolm III, surnamed Canmore, to the Accession of Robert I.

II. 334

Damascenus, (John); Opera (Gr. Lat.) 1548 (1559. Opera Auctiora 1577, 1603, 1619. Cum Disserationibus. 1712.)
Diss. III. xlix, lxi, lxviii

(Edmonds, Alexander; Vera expositio Disputationis ... 1554. Same translated into English under the title,) The Trew Report of the Dysputacyon (had, and begone in the Conuocacyo Hours at London ... Basil, 1554.)
III. 355

Eginhard; Vit(a et Gesta) Carol(i) magn(i. 1521, 1616 ... accesserunt ... Veltonis) Goldast(i Animadversiones ...) 1711, 1565.
Diss. I.(54, 58), II. (91, 98, 101, 102, 108)

Engelhusen, T(heodoricus); Chronicon T. Engelhus(ii, continens res Ecclesiae ... In Leibnitz, G. W. von). Scriptor(es rerum) Bruns(vicensium ... v.2. 1707)
III. 13; Diss. I. (55)

Erasmus, (Desiderius Roterdanus; Enarratio in primum Psalmum; una cum Dorpii) Epistol(a ad Erasmum de Moriae Encomio. Item Erasmi Epistola Apologetica ad Dorpium. 1515. Col. 1519. Basil 1519. Lugd. 1644)
II. 433, 438, 439, 441, 446

Erasmus, (Desiderius Roterdamus); Opera. (Basil 1540. 9v. Lyons, 1703. 10v.)
II. 438

Erigena, (John Scotus; Libri quinque de Naturis Accedunt Ambigua S. Maxime, seu Scholia ejus in difficiles locos S. Greg. Naziazeni Gr. et Lat.) ed(idit Thomas) Gale. Oxon. 1681.
Diss. II. (109)

Evans, Evan; Specimens (of the) Poetry (of the Ancient) Welsh (Bards.) (1764).
I. 92; Diss. I. 7, 62, 64

Fabric(ius, John Albert); Bibliotheca) eccles(iastica ... Aub.) Miraei auctuar(ium de) script)oribus) Eccles(iasticis ... 1718)
II. 118

Fabric(ius, (John Albert); Bibl(iotheca) Gr(aeca ... 1708-28, 1780, 1790-1809.)
I. 130, 140, 350, 351, 378, 393, 421, 442, 444, 463, II. 8; Diss. I. (51), Diss. II. (87, 90, 93, 111, 143, 147)

Fabric(ius, John Albert); Bibl(iotheca) med(iae et) infi(rmae) Latinitat(is. 1734, 1754.)
II. 19, Diss. II. 99, 119, 120, 126, 127

Fabric(ius, John Albert); Cod(ex) Apocryph(us) Nov(i) Test(amenti ...) 1703. (1719)
II. 176, 306

Fabricius, (John Albert); Cod(ex) pseudepigr(aphus) vet. Testam(enti collectus ... 1713 & 1723. 1722-41.)
Diss. III. lxvi

Fabric(ius, John Albert; Supplementa et observationes ad Vossium de historicis Graecis et Latinis ... I. B. a Mallincrat Paralipomenon de ... II. L. Nogarolae) de vir(is) illustrib(us ... 1709.)
II. 167

Fabyan, (Robert; Fabyan's) Chronicle (1516, 1533. The) Chronicle (of Fabian. 1542, 1559, 1811.)
I. 156, II. 13, 181, 200; Diss. I. (40)

Falcandus; Histor(ia de Calamitatibus) Sicili(ae). 1550. (1579)
II. 217

Farmer, (Richard); Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare. 1767.
II. 81

Fauchet, (Claude; Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poesie
francoise etc. Paris 1581.
I. 37, 64, 74, 109, 112, 134, 129(3), 190, 212, 368, 417,
463(3), II. 110; Diss. II. (123)

Ferrari, Oc(tavius); Orig(ines Linguae) Itali(cae. Padua, 1676.)
II. 357

Fiddes, (Richard; Life of Cardinal) Wolsey, (With cuts. Lond.
1724, 1726, 1742.)
II. 425, 428, 434, 435

Field, (John); Declaration of God's Judgment (shewed at Paris
Garden ...) 1583.
III. 288

Figlinei, Felice; Filososia Morale il Libri d'Ethica d'Aristotle.
III.24

Finet(t, Sir John, Knt.; Finetti) Philoxenis: (some choice Obser-
vations, touching the Reception, Precedence etc., of Foren
Ambassadors in England. Lond.) 1656.
II. 399

Fitz-Stephen, (William); Descriptio (Nobilissimae Civitatis)
London(iae. 1598. In Engl. 1772.)
Diss. II. 145

Flaccius Illyricus, see Illyricus, Matthias Francowitz.

Flahert(y, Roderic O'); Ogyg(ia; seu, Rerum Hibernicarum Chrono-
logia. Lond.) 1685.
Diss. I.(33)

Flamma, G(ualvaneus) de la; (Manipulus Florum ... Rerum) Itali-
(carum) Script(ores ... v.11. 1723)
Diss. I. 58

Flavi(o,) Blondus; Ital(iae) illustrat(ae ... 1479).
Diss. II. (120)

Fleetwood, (William); The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefred,(to-
gether with her Litanies, with some Historical Observations
made thereon. London), 1713.
I. 13

Fleury, (Claude Abbot); Hist(oire) Eccles(iastique depuis le
ccommencement du Christianisme jusqu'en 1401 ... 1722-34. In
Engl. 1727).

Diss. II. (78).

Flodoard of Rheims); Chron(ique de) Flodoard.
Diss. I. (19)

Fontanini, (Juste); Vindic(iae) Antiquo(rum) Diplomat(um. 1705).
Diss. II. (119)

Fontenelle, (Bernard le Bovier de); Hist(oire du) theatr(e) fr(ancais jusqu'a Corneille,) 1742.
I. 37, 148, 235, 237, 240, 460

Fortescu(e, Sir John); De Laud(ibus) Leg(um) Angl(iae 1537, 1573, 1575, 1578, 1599, 1609, 1616, 1660, 1672; Translations 1737, 1741, 1775, 1825, 1869.)
I. 5

Fountaine, (Sir) A(ndrew; Numismata Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica breviter illustrata. Oxon. 1705)
Diss. I. (36)

Foxe, John; Acts and Monuments (of these latter Days 1563. Eng. 1554, 1559 Latin 1570) 1576, 1583.
II. 436, III. 42, 46, 61, 85, 144, 284, 313, 320(2), 353

Fraser, (James; The Genuine) Hist(ory of) Nad(ir) Shah, (formerly called Thamas Kuli Khan, Emperor of Persia; to which is prefixed, a short History of the Moghol Emperors; and at the end is inserted about 200 Manuscripts, in the Persic and other Oriental Languages. 1742)
I. 130

Freher, (Marquare); Germanicar(um) Rer(um Scriptores aliquot insignes partim hactenus incogniti.) 1602 (-11) Struvium (1717)
II. 10

Fresne, Charles du Cange du, see Du Cange, Charles du Fresne.

Froissart, (John); Chron(icles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyugale, Scotlande, Bretayne ...) Transl(ation by John Bouchier, knyghte, Lord) Berners, (at the comaundement of Kynge Henrye VIII. 1525) 1523.
II. 258, 333, 405, III. 123, 147, 148

Froissart, (John; Les) Chron(iques de France, d'Angleterre, d'escoce, d'Espaigne, de Bretaigne ... 1505, 1518, 1530, 1559-61) 1574.
II. 258, 299, 345

Fuller, Thos.; Church Hist(ory (of Britain, 1655).
II. 381, III. 198, 200, 205

Fuller, Thos.; (History of the) Worthies (of England) 1662.
I. 287, II. 81, 128, III. 83, 194, 299, 481

Func(cius, John Nicholas); De Im(mine)nti et decrep Latin(ae)

Linguae Senectut(e, Tractatus. 1735)
Diss. II. (74)

Gale, Th.; Historicae)poeticae scriptores antiqui 1675.)
Diss. I. (24)

Galfred(us), Mon(umetensis; Rerurm Britannicorum; ...) Brit(annicae) Hist(oriae ... 1587.)
I. 124; Diss. I. (4, 7, 8, 13, 15, 17, 19, 35, 36, 41, 57)
II. (128, 131, 143

Gandav(o), Henr(icus; Liber ... de) scriptor(ibus) eccles(iasticis.)
II. 347

Gascoigne(, George; The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne ... 1587. Collation: ...) Epistle to all Young Gentlemen; ...
III. 45

Gascoigne, George; (The) Princelye pleasures at (the) Courte (at) Kenelwoorth ... (1576.)
III. 293, 346

Gelli(us,) Aul(us); Noct(es) Athic(ae. 1469,(1472. Com. 1477 1485, 1489, 1496, 1500, 1502, 1509, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1515, 1519, 1519, 1526, 1533, 1534, 1536, 1537, 1539, 1542, 1546, 1549, 1550, 1560, 1566, 1585, 1592, 1603, 1608, 1609, 1624, 1651, 1665, 1666, 1681, 1607, 1706, 1741, 1762,) 1784.)
Diss. III. xxxvi, xli, lxii

Gerson, (John); Op(era. Ex)ed(itione Ellis) Dupin. (Ant. 1706, 5v.)
II. 32

Gesner, (Conrad); Bibl(iotheca Universalis, Sive Catalogus Scriptorum. Lat. Gr. et Hebr... Tigur ... 1545.) 1555, (1574, 1583.)
II. 68

Gianonne, (Peter; A) Hist(ory of) Nap(les. 1723, 1763, 1766. In Engl. 1729-1731). Extracts Amst. 738)
I. 289, 442; Diss. II. (74, 75)

Gibson, (Edmund); Chron(icon) Saxon(icum ... 1692.)
Diss. I. (36)

Gibson, (Edmund); Cod(ex Juris Ecclesiae Anglicanae ... Lond. 1713, 2v. 2") ed. (Oxf.) 1761, (2v.)
III. 200, 294

Giornale de Letterati d'Italia. (Ven. 1710-50).
II. 410

Giraldus Cambrensis, see Barry, Girald.

Glassius, Solomon; Philologia(e) Sacra(e, libri II ...) 1623. (III-IV. 1634. V) 3d ed. 1653. (1705, 1711, 1725, 1776).
Diss. III. lxxxvi

Godwin, (Francis; Catalogue of the) Bishops (of England ... 1601 1615. In Latin, Lond.) 1616 (1743. De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarum, omnium) Episc(oparum ... Lond.) 1616. (1743)
II. 140, 159-60; Diss. II. (147)

Godwin, (Francis); De Praesul(ibus Angliae Commentarius) ... 1616. (1743)
Diss. II. (118)

Golding, (Arthur; Translation of Leonard) Aretine's (History, concerning the) war (between the) Imp(erialles) and Goths, (etc.) 1563.
III. 413

Gomesius, Alvarus (, or Gomez de Castro, Alvaro; De rebus gestis a F.) Ximenio (Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano ... 1569)
II. 417

Gordon, (Alexander); Itin(erarium) Septentr(ionale; or, A Journey through most of the Countries of Scotland, and those in the North of England. 1726. Add. and correc. 1732, 1731.)
Diss. I. (36)

Gosson, Stephen; Playes Conputed in five Actions, (proving that they are not to be suffred in a Christian Commonweale ... 1580.)
III. 288

Gosson, Stephen; (The) Schoole of Abuse; (conteining a plesant invective against Poetes, Pipers, Players, Jesters, and such like Caterpillars of a Commonwealth). 1579. (1587)
III. 288

Gosson, Stephen; A second and third Blast of retrait from plaies (and theaters: set forth by Anglophile Eutheo. Lond.) 1580.
I. 241, III. 288

Goujet, (Claude Pierre); Bibl(iotheque) Fr(ancaise etc. Paris 1740-59).
I. 344, III, 350

Gower, (John; De) Conf(essione) Amant(is. 1483, 1532, 1544) 1554. Ed. by Barthlet.
I. 73. Barthlet 223, 233, 342, 350, 393, 407, 448; Diss. III xxii, xxvi, xxxvi, xlix, lv, lxi, lxv, lxxxiii, lxxxiv.

Grafton, (Richard); Chron(icles of) Eng(land. 1569,
II. 126, 267

(Green, J.); Refutation 1615 (printed with) Heywood's Apology (for Actors).
III. 289

Gregor(y, Bishop of) Tours (called Georgius Florentius Gregorus); Hist(oria Gallorum, Seu) Francor(um, libris X. Par. per Jod. Badium pro J. Parvo. 1522. Par. apud morel 1561. Et cum Appendice, sive libro XI. Editore M. Flacis. Bas. per P. Pernam, 1568. Per L. de la Barre Par. 1583, 1610. Tr. into Fr. by Abbe de Maroles. 1668, 3v.)
II. 21, 76, 118, 362

Grotius (Hugo; Historia) Gothicarorum. Amst. 1655.
II. 11

Gregory, (Bishop) of Tours, (or Georgius Florentius G.); Hist(oria Gallorum, seu) Franc(orum, libris X. 1522, 1561. Cum app. sive lib. XI, 1568, 1583, 1610. In Fr. 1668. In Engl. 1608) 1699.
Diss. I. (48, 49, 110)

Gruter(us, James); Inscription(es Antiquae totius orbis romani in absolutissimum corpus redactae ... Amstel.,) 1707. (1st ed. 1602).
II. 410

Gunton, (Symon; History of the Church of) Petersb(urgh, wherein the most remarkable things of that place from the first foundation ... are presented. 1686.)
I. 88; Diss. II. (119)

(Gyraldus, L. G.; Opera omnia ... animadversionibus hactenus ineditis P.) Colomesii ... (1696).
Diss. II. (78)

(Hailes, Lord); Ancient Scottish Poems 1770 Edinb.
I. 76, II. 266, 278, 319, 325, 326, 359, 361

Hake, Edward; The Touch-stone of Wittes. 1588.
III. 275

Hake, Edward; A Touchstone for this Time Present. (1574)
III. 426

Hakluyt, (Richard; The principal Navigations) Voyages, (Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation.) 1598 (-1600).
I. 426, 450, III. 123

Halde, (John Baptist) Du; (Description of) China, (and the Chinese Tartary; together with the Kingdoms of Korea and Thibet ... Lond. 1738-41, 2v.)
I. 404

Hall, (Edward; History of the Union of Lancaster and York 1548-50)
III. 154, 156, 158

(Hardouin, John); Concil(iorum Collectio Regia Maxima. Edita a Joan.) Harduin(o) Par. (1715, 12v.)
II. 390

Hall, (Joseph; Virgidemiarium, the three first and three last Bookes of byting) satyres ... (1599 or 1602)
III. 315, 318

Harpsfeld, Nic(holas); Hist(oria) Angl(icana) Eccl(esiastica ...) 1622.
II. 178, 425, III. 325

Harrington, (Sir John; The most elegant and witty) Epigrams (of Sir John Harrington, Knt.; digested into foure bookes. Lond. 1615, 1618, 1625.)
III. 389

Harris, (Walter); Hibernica, (or some ancient pieces relating to the history of Ireland. 1747. Pt.2 1750. Pt.1-2 1770.)
I. 85

Harrison, (William); Descript(ion) of England. (1577, 1586-87. Historical) Descript(ion of the Island of) Brit(ain. Published in Hollingshed's Chronicles. 1577)
II. 94, III. 74

Harsnet, (Samuel; A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of John Darrel, B.A. ... of Thomas Darling ... and of Katherine Wright ... and of his dealings with one Mary Couper ...) detecti(ng, in some sort, the deceitful trade in these latter dayes, of casting out devils. Lond. 1599.)
II. 360

Harvey, G(abriel; Foure) Letters (and certaine Sonnets). 1592.
III. 400

Harvey, G(abriel); Gratulat(ionum) Valdinen(sium). 1578.
III. 382, 426

Harvey, G(abriel; Valdmatus) Smithus, (vel Musarum Lachrymae pro obitu Honoratissimi Viri atque Hominis Multis Nominibus Clarissimae Thomae Smithi ... 1578)
III. 334

Hawes, (Stephen); Past(ime of) Pleas(ure 1517).
I. 363

Hawkins; Hist(ory) of Music. 1776.
II. 363, III, 46, 59, 171

Hawkins; (Six) Old Plays. (1607,) 1779, (1780).
III. 200, 436

Haym, (Nicolas Francis); Bibl(ioteca) Ital(iana, o sia Notizia de Libri rari nella Lingua Italiana. 1726, 1728, 1736), 1741 (1771).
II. 13, 21, 33

Heale, (William; An apologie for women). Ox(ford) 1609.
II. 384

Hearne, T. (Ed.); Alu(red(i) Bev(erlace sis) An(nales. 1716)
Diss. I. (9)

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Benedic(tus) Abb(as de vita et gestis Hen. II et Ric. I, 1735).
I. 157, 432, 441, 442, II. 317, III. 72(2), 76, 73

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.; Eyston's), History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, 1722. Oxon.
I. 437, II. 445

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Hemingi Cartul(arium Ecclesiae Wigoniensis 1723).
I. 93, 127; Diss. II. (118)

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Joannis Glastoniensis Chronica. (1726).
I. 88, II. 379; Diss. II. (118, 119)

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.; Joannis de) Fordun (Scotichromicon. 1722)
I. 92, 232

Hearne, T. (Ed; Joannis) Rossi Historia Regum Angliae. (1716)
II. 249, 344, 421, 444

Hearne, Thos.; (Johannis de) Trokelowe (Annales Edwardi II, Henri de Blaneforde Chronica, Monachi Cujusdem Malmesburienses Vita Edwardi II.)
I. 5, 6, II. 390

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Joannes Whithamstede. 1732.
II. 53

Hearne, Thos. (Ed; Roberti de) Avesbury (Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edwardi III. 1720)
I. 253, 276

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.
I. 58, 61, 66, 96, 105, 116, 126, 155, 156, 159, 161, 163, 173, 193, 255, III. 13, 125, 127, 133

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Lib(er)Nig(er) Scae(cari. 1728. repr. 1774).
I. 92, II. 47, 106, 191

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Robert of Gloucester's)Chron(icle.) 1724.
I. 5, 40, 44(2), 48, 67, 68, 71, 75, 95, 96, 304, II. 177, 298, 316, III. 178; Diss. I. (35)

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Peter Langtoft's (Chronicle. 1725).
I. 44, 62, 66, 72, 74, II. 47, 296

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.); Thomae Caii Vindiciae Antiquitatis Acad. Oxon. (1730)
I. 2, 32

Hearne, Thos. (Ed.; Thomae de) Elmh(am Vita et gesta Henrici V. 1727.)
I. 307, II. 35, 37(3); Diss. III. lxxiv

Hearne, T. (Ed.; Thomas) Otterbourne. 1732.
II. 46, 47, 93

Hearne, T. (Ed.) W(alteri) Hemingford (Historia de rebus gestis Edwardi I, II, III. 1731)
II. 326

Hearne, T. (Ed.); W. Newbrigensis Historia. (1719)
II. 360, III. 278, 73

Henault, (Charles John Francis); Nouvel abreg(e) chronol(ogique de l') hist. (de) Fr(ance. 1749) 1752. (1768, 1775).
I. 190, II. 113

Hendreich, (Christoph); Pandect(ae Brandenburgicae, seu Bibliotheca Maxima Authorum ... 1699).
II. 241

Hentzner, (Paul); Itinerar(ium) Germaniae, (Galliae) Angliae, (et Italiae; item, Monita Peregrinatoria duorum Doctorum Virorum), etc. 1629.
II. 448

Herbelot (de Molainville, Barthelemy d'); Bibl(iothegue) orientale (ou dictionnaire universel contenant tout ce qui regarde la connoissance de peuples de l'Orient. Completed by A. Galland in 1697. Rep. Maestricht 1776. Hague 4 vols. 4 1777-79 in additions by Schultens, Reiske, Visdelow, and Galland.
I. 130, 132, 378, 400, 402, 404, 407, 413, 414, 426, 440, II. 175; Diss. I. (12, 14, 57, 62), II. (88, 90, 111)

Herolt, John; (Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis per circulum anni cum promptuario) exempl(orum.) 1499. (1510, 1513, 1514).
Diss. III. xciii

Heuter, (Pontus); Res Burgund(icae). 1584.
III. 294

Heylin, (Peter); Cosmography. (1657, 1665, 1666. With contin. 1703.)
III. 168; Diss. III. xxv

Heywood, J(asper); Thyestes; (the second Tragedy of Seneca.) 1560. (1581) Pref.
III. 273

Heywood, (John); Workes, (A Dialogue conteyning the number of the effectuall proverbes in the Englishe tounge, with epigrammes. Lond. 1562, 1566, 1576, 1587, 1598, 1546, 1547, 1549, 1561.)
III. 88

Hickes, George; Anglo-Saxon (and Moeso-Gothic) Grammar. (1689)
Diss. I. 37, 40, III. 200

Hickes, George; (Linguarum veterum septentrionalium) thesaurus (grammatico-criticus et archeologicus. 1703-5).
I. 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 23, 63, 127, II. 189; Diss. I. (35), (36(3), (37)

Hildebert;(Hildeberti et Marbodii) Op(era Omnia ...) Paris 1708.
II. 170

Hist(oire et memoires de l') Acad(emie) des inscript(ions et belles lettres, de 1701-93. Par. 1717-1809).
I. 64, 244, 247, 439, 461, 464, III. 237; Diss. I. (18)

L'Histoire litteraire de (la) France par des (religieux) Benedictius (de la congregation de S. Maur. 1733-63).
Diss. III. xlvii

Hobbes, (Thomas); Leviathan; (or, the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil. 1651, 1680. In Lat. 1668, 1670.)
III. 497

Hody, (Humphrey); De Graec(is) Illustr(ibus, Languae Graecae, Literarumque Humaniorum Instauratoribus ... 1742.)
II. 84, 85, 413; Diss. II. (74)

Hoffman, (John James); Lexic(on) Universal(e Historico-Geograph ico-Poetico-Philosophico-Politico-Philologicum. 1677. Suppl.) 1683. (1698)
II. 306

Holcot, (Robert; Prae)lect(iones) in Libr(um) Sapient(iae Salomonis. 1586.)
I. 5

Holinshed, (Raphael); Chron(icles of England, Scotland and Ireland. 1577)
I. 66, 232, 238, 255, 406, 426, II. 36, 47, 49, 132, 281, 334, 336, 363, 381, 389, 397, III. 39, 42, 47, 83, 95, 143, 148, 156, 157, 158, 159, 213, 317, 386, 414, 493; Diss. II. (147, 148)

(Holinshed, Ralph; Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland. Lond. 1586-7, 3v. in 2 ... Now newlie augmented and) contin(ued ... to the year 1586, by John) Hooker, (Alias Vowell, Gent. and others.)
III. 42

Holland, (Henry or Hugh); Herologi(a Anglica, hoc est, clarissimorum et Doctissimorum aliquot Anglorum ... 1620).
III. 195

Honorius, (Presb.) Augustodunens(is; Libri septem. 1. De imagine

mundi. 2. ...) 3. De philosophia mundi (LLIIII. 4. ...
5. De aetatibus mundi chronicon. 6. ... 7. ... Bas. 1544).
II. 75

Hotting(er, John Henry); Hist(oria) Eccl(esiasticae Novi Test. Enneas, seu pars prima. 1651. Pars secunda 1651. Pars tertia et quarta. 1656-57.)
Diss. II. (89)

Hotting(er, John Henry; Promptuarium, sive) Bibli(otheca) Orient(alis. 1658)
II. 9

Hoveden, (Roger de; Annales. 1596, 1601.)
I. 113; Diss. II. (109)

Howard, (Gorges Edmond; A) Coll(ection of Apothegms and Maxims for the Good Conduct of Life. ... Dublin 1767)
III. 212

Howell, (James; Epistolae Hoelianae. Familiar) Letters, (domestic and foreign. Lond. 1737. 5 editions 1645-1673, 1726, 1754)
I. 212, Diss. III. xxx

Huet Hist(ory of) Rom(ance; Lettre sur l'Origine des Romances. Paris 1670-172. Engl. trans Lewis 1715)
I. 112, 149, 463; Diss. I. (64)

Hume, David; History of England. 1754, 1756, 1759, 1762.
Diss. II. (120)

Huntingdon, H(enry of; Chronicle; or, General) hist(ory of England ... Published by Sir Henry Saville, in Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam praecipui. 1596).
Diss. I. (38, 45)

Hurd; Letters on Chivalry and Romance. 1765.
I. 434

Hurd; Twelve Sermons Introductory to the Study of the Prophecies 1772.
I. 286

Hutten, Leonard; Antiquities of Oxford. (Pr. by Hearne in Textus Roffensis. 1720)
III. 290

Hyde, (Thomas; Historia) relig(ionis) vet(erum) Persarum. (1700) Praefat.
I. 131; Diss. I. (26)

(Illyricus, Matthias Francowitz;)Catal(ogus) Test(ium) Verit(atis qui ante nostram aetatem Pontifici Romano, ejusque erroribus reclamarunt.) 1556. (1562, 1598.)
II. 206

(Illyricus, Matthias Francowitz or) Flaccus (Illyricus; Varia Doctorum Piorumque Virorum) de Corrupto Ecclesiae Statu Poem(ata ...) Bas. 1557.
I. 47

Imbonat(i, Car. Jos.); Bibl(iotheca) latino-hebr(aica sive de scriptoribus latinis qui ex diversis nationibus contra Judaeos etc. scripserunt. Romae., 1694.)
II. 417

Ingulf
II. 347

Isidorus, (St.; Etymologiarum. 1472, 1473, 1485, 1595.) Origin(es, seu Etymologiae. 1577, 1585, 1602, 1622, 1697, 1633.)
Diss. II. (118)

Ives, (Edward; A) Voyage (from England) to India ... Lond. 1773.
Diss. I. (32)

Jaeniche(n), Peter; Notit(ia) biblioth(ecae) Thorunensis ... (1723)
II. 417

James I; Demonologie. (1597, 1600, 1603).
Diss. III. xxxvii

Johnson, (Samuel; A) Dict(ionary of the English Language, in which the Words are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers. To which are prefixed A History of the Language, and an English Grammar. 1755,
Abridged. 1770, 1778.)
I. 341

Joinville (, John, Sieur de); Chronique d(u Roy) S(ainct) Loys (IX. Gen. 1596. Par. 1609. Par Cl. Menard, Par. 1617. Ed. Du Cange, 1668. Orig. Mss. pub. by Melot, Paris, 1761.)
I. 167, 168

Jon(as,) Anagrim(us); Crymag(aea, Seu Rerum Islandicarum, libri tres. Hamb. 1630. This was written in 1603, and printed at Hamb. 1609, with a map of Denmark; 1710 without a map.)
I. 127

Jovius, Paul; Hist(oriarum sui Temporis. 1550-52, 1553-54, 1556, 1558. In Ital. 1560, 1565, 1608. In Fr. 1555.)
Diss. I. (25), II. (120)

Jovius, Paul (or Paullo Giovo); Elog(ia Clarorum Virorum. Ven. 1546. Basil. 1596.)
II. 428

Jovius, Paul, (or Paullo Giovio; Vitae Illustrium Virorum. Basil. 1578, 2v.)
II. 411

Keating (Geoffrey; General) History of Ireland, (translated by Dermo'd O'Connor. 1723, 1726.)
Diss. I. (47, 51)

Kemp, (William; Kemp's) IX Day's Wonder, (in a Dance from London to Norwich.) 1600.
III. 290

Kennet, (White); Paroch(ial) Antiq(uities attempted ... 1695, 1696.)
I. 290; Diss. (146)

Keysler, (John George; Explication of the Anglo-Saxon Monument of Antiquity on Salisbury Plain ... Republished under title) Antiquit(ates) Sel(ectae) Sept(entrionales ... 1720)
Diss. I. (25, 26, 27, 32, 35, 36, 66)

Kircher, (Athanasius); Mund(us Subterran(eus. 1678. Translated, 1699.)
I. 110

Knight, (Samuel; The) Life of (Dr. John) Calet, (Dean of St. Paul's in the Reigns of King Henry VII and VIII. 1724.)
II. 390, 433, 434, 447

Labb(e, Philip); Nov(a) Bibl(iotheca) MSS. (Librorum. 1657) 1672.
I. 129, 131, 132, 142, 348, II. 72, 120, 201; Diss. II. (143)

Laboureur, (John) Le; Mem(oirs of Michael) de Castelnau. (1659 2v.)
I. 252

Lacombe, (James); Diction(naire) du vieux Lang(age) Fr(ancaise ... 1766)-1767.
I. 63

Lambarde, (William); Peramb(ulation of) Kent. (1576, 1596, 1656)
III. 385; Diss. I. (42)

Lambarde, (William); Diction(arium Angliae topographicum et historiam) 1730.
I. 4, 240

Lambard, (William); sive de Priscis Anglorum Legibus libri Sermone Anglico ... 1568, 1644).
Diss. I. (42)

Lambec(ius, Petrus); Bibli(otheca acroamatica ...) Bibli(othecae) Caesar(eae Vindobonensis ... Hanover, 1712).
I. 351

Lambecius, Pet(e)r; Comment(ariorum) de (Augustissima) Bibi(otheca Caesarea) Vindob(onensi, libri octo. 1665-79. Suppl. 1690. 2d ed. 1766-82. Suppl. ... Posthum. 1790. Abridgm. 1712.)

I. 7, 88, 126, 131, 348, 383, II. 10, 41, 218, 368, 418, Diss. I. (20), II. (111)

Lambec(ius,) Pet(e)r; Prodrom(us Lucubrationem Criticorum in Auli Gelii Noctes Atticas ... 1647).
I. 383, 442

Laneham, (Robert; A Letter, wherein part of the) entertainment (untoo the Queenz Maiesty) at Killingwoorth Castl, (in Warwik Sheer, in the Soomerz Progress, 1575, iz signified ...) 1575.
I. 91, III. 98, 129, 139, 416

Langbaine, Gerard; (An Account of the English) Dram(atick) Poets (etc. Oxford) 1691.
II. 41, 402, III. 436

Langiu(s, Joh. Mich; Introductio ad Poesin Barbaro-Graecam. Accedit Batrachomyomachia Homeri A Demetrio Zeno Zacynthio in versus) Barbaro-Graecos (conversa, cum Interpretatione Latina et Annotationibus M. Crusii. Altd. 1707.)
I. 349

Latimer, (Hugh); Sermons. (1549, 1555, 1562,) 1584, (1635).
II. 450

Latini, Brunetto; Tesoretto (; or Little Treasure ...)
III. 237

Lazius, (Wolfgang); De Genti(um aliquot) Migrat(ionibus Sedibus Fixis, Reliquiis ... 1557, 1572.) 1600.
Diss. I. (24)

(Leges) Wisigoth(orum, see Lindenbrog, F.; Codex legum) antiq(uarum ...) 1613.
Diss. I. (51)

Leibnit(z, Gottfried Wilhelm von); Scriptor(es rerum) Brunsvic(ensum illustrationi inservientes ... 1707-11).
II. 13; Diss. I. (55)

Leland, John; (Commentarii de) Script(oribus) Brit(annicis. Oxf. 1709).
I. 78, 102, 103, 232, 291, 292, 296, 342, 440, 443, II. 34, 45, 46, 47(2), 48(3), 74, 76, 116, 124, 138, 172, 189, 207, 218, 225, 257, 263, 316, 392, 421, 422, 423(3), 424(2), 427, 448, III. 353; Diss. II. (83, 93, 94, 95, 98, 100, 137(2), 139, 146, 148, 126, 127, 128, 134, 130, 136, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 123, 124, 125.

Leland, (John; Joannis) Leland(i Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis) Collectan(ea. Ex Autographis descripsit, edidit que Thos.) Hearn(ius, qui and) Append(icem subjecit, totumque Opus Natis et Indice adornavit. Oxonii, 1715.) 1770, 1774.
I. 47, 63, 75, 116, 212, 239, 290, 292, 314, 335, II. 35, 36, III. 278; Diss. II. (83, 100, 112, 132), III. 1, lxv.

Leland, John; (Lond. 1546)
(Hearne's Collectonea)
III. 29, 284, 397, 429

Leland, John, Hearne, T. (Ed.); Itin(erary of John Leland the antiquary) 1710-12) 1744-5, 1768-70.
I. 298, 397, II. 138, 159, 167, III. 66, 151

Leland, John (Ed.); Naeniae in mortem Thomae Viati etc. 1542.
III. 29, 39, 353

(Lenfant, James); Poggiana; or the Life, character, opinions, etc. of) Poggio (the) Florentine, (with the History of the Republic of Florence.) Amst. 1720.
Diss. II. (77)

Lenglet(-Dufresnoy, Nicholos); De l'usage des romans, avec une) biblioth(eque) des romans. (1734).
I. 63, 131, 134, 345, 381, II. 117, 120, 226

Leo (VI, Emperor of the East; A Treatise on) Tactics (1586, 1602. Et. Gr. Lat. cum Notis) Meursii. 1612. (In French 1770.)
Diss. I. (55)

Leo (, Marsicanus.Cardinal, Bishop of Ostia); Chron(ica Sacri) Casin(ensis Coenobii ... in qua totius) Mon(asticae Religionis summa consistit (continued by) P(etrus) Diac(onus ...) ... Venetiis, 1513.)
I. 442

Lesley, (John); De (Origine, Moribus, et) Reb(us) Gest(is) Scot(orum. Romae, 1575, 1578.)
II. 1, 125, 280

Lewis, (John); Life (and sufferings) of (John) Wickl(iffe, D.D. Lond. 1720, 1723.)
II. 330, 331, 420

Lewis, (John; The Life of Mayster Wyllyam) Caxton (, of the Weald of Kent, the first Printer in England; in which is given the Rise and Progress of the Art of Pryntyng in England during his time, till 1493. Lond. 1737. Only 150 copies printed all upon Royal paper.)
II. 11, 170, 211

Leyser, (Polyc; Historia) poet(arum et poematum) med(ii) aev(i decem; post ann. a nato Christo 400, seculorum. Halae-Magdebur., 1721, 1719).
II. 167

Lhuyd, Edward; Arch(eologia Britannica, etc. Oxf. 1707.)
I. 237; Diss. I. (4, 5, 7, 8, 37)

Linacre, (Thomas); De Emendata (Structura Latini Sermonis libri Sex. Lond.) 1524 (Bas. 1530. Paris, 1532. Lips. 1545. Lutet 1550. Ven. 1557. Paris, 1533, 1546.)
II. 124

Lipsius, (Justus); Ad Annat(es) Tacliti (Commentarius. 1588, 1598).
Diss. II. (92)

Liron (D. Jean); Singularités hist(oriques) et lit(téraires ... 1738-40)
Diss. II. (120)

Lizelius, G(eorgius); Histor(ia) Poetar(um Graecorum) German(iae, a Renatis Literis ad Nostra Usque Tempora. Franc. et Lips.) 1730.
II. 375

Lloyd, David; (State) Worthies (2 vols. London 1766. State men and Favourites of England since the Reform. Lond. 1665, 1670.)
III. 211

Lloyd, Wm; Historical Account of Church Government, (as it was) in Great Britain (and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion.) London, 1684.
Diss. I. (41)

Lobineau, (Guy Alexis); Histoire (générale) de Bretagne (... 1707)
Diss. I. (3)

Long, J(ames le); Bibl(iothèque) Hist(orique de la France ... 1719, 1768-78.)
Diss. I. (20)

Lowth, (Robert); Life of (William of) Wykeham (1758) 1777.
I. 255, III. 153

(Lucotte) du Tilliot (Jean Bénigne); Memoires pour servir (a l'histoire) de la Fête des Foux ... 1741.
II. 369, 389

Ludewig, (Joan.-Petrus); Reliq(uiae manuscriptorum omnis aevi) diplom(atum ac monumentorum ineditorum ex musaeo. Francofurti et Lipsiae, 1720-40, 12v.)
II. 325

Luther, (Martin); Op(era ... Witt. 1550.)
II. 442

Lydg(ate, John); Prologue (to, and translation of, Dares' Phrygius' History of the Wars betwixt the Grecians and the Trogans 1555.)
II. 61, 82

Lye, (Edward); Dict(ionarium) Sax(onico et Gothico-Latinum ... Lond. 1772, 2v.)
III. 134

Lyttleton, (George), Lord; History of (King) Henry II, (1767).
I. 70, 85, 116, 122; Diss. II. (127, 135)

Mabillon, (John); De Re Dipt(omatica ... 1681, 1709. Librorum)

de Re Dipt(omatica. Sup. 1704, 1739.)
I. 4; Diss. I. (59), II. (78, 104)

Mabillon, (John); Mus(eum) Italic(um ... 1687-89, 1724).
II. 424, III. 237; Diss. II. (92)

Mabillon, (John); Act(a Sanctorum ordinis S.) Ben(edicti ... Collegit L. d'Achery ac cum eo edid. J. Mabillon ... 1668-1701, 1703, 1733).
II. 189; Diss. II. (108)

Mabillon, (John); Iter German(icum, et Launoii ... 1717.)
II. 23

Mabillon (, Jean, and) Germon, (Barth.); Iter ital(icum litterarium, ann. 1685-86. Lutetiae-Parisiorum, 1687.)
II. 32, 76

Machiavel, (Nicholas); History of Florence. (1595, 1574, 1720) 1680.
Diss. III. xxv

MacKenzie, (George; The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation. Edinb.) 1708. (3v.)
II. 125, 321, 334

Macrobius, (Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius); Saturnal(ia et Expositio in Somnium. Scipionis. 1472, 1483, 1485, 1489, 1501, 1515, 1517, 1519, 1521, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1532, 1535, 1542, 1548, 1550, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1560, 1585, 1597, 1628, 1665, 1670) 1694 (1738, 1774, 1788.)
Diss. III. lviii

Madox, (Thomas; The) Hist(ory and Antiquities of the) exchecq(uer of the Kings of England, from the Norman Conquest to the end of the reign of Edward II ... 1711, 1769.)
I. (2), 47, 92, 128

Madox, (Thomas); Formul(are) Anglic(anum; or, A Collection of Antique Charters, and Instruments ... 1702.)
I. 46, 217

Maffei, (Francis) Scipio, (Marquis de); Tradutioni Italiani. (Venice 1720).
I. 217

Magnus, Olaus; Hist(oria Gentium Septentrion alium. 1554, 1555, 1567. Epitom 1549. In Engl. under title Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, Vandals ... 1658.)
Diss. I. (53, 59)

Maichel(ius,) Dan(iel; Introductio Ad Historiam Literariam de Praecipius) Bibliothec(is) Paris(iensibus ... Camb. 1721.)
II. 114

Maius, (or May, John Henry); Vita(e Johannis) Reuchlini. (1687)

II. 415

Majer(us, Michael); Symbola Aureae Mensae (duodecim nationum ... 1617.)
I. 401

Major, (Maior, or Mair), J(ohn; De Historia) Gent(is) Scot(orum, libri sex, seu) Histor(ia) Maj(oris) Britan(niae, tam Angliae quam Scotiae e Veterum Monimentis Concinnata. Paris) ... 1521. (Edin. ... 1740.)
II. 125, 334

Mallet, Paul Henri; Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarck. 1755.
I. 12, 127; Diss. I. (23, 26, 27)

Malmsbury, (William; Life of St.) Adhelm. (By Wharton).
Diss. II. (110)

Malmesbury, William of; Rer(um) Angl(icanarum Scriptores ...) de Gest(is) Rer(um) Angl(orum, lib. V. Ejusdem ...) Hist. ... de Gest(is) Pontif(icium,) Angl. (lib. IV. Henrici ... Published in Sir H.) Saville('s Collection.) 1596. (1601)
II. 362; Diss. I. (41, 44), II. (96, 99, 101, 107, 108, 109), III. xlv-xlvii.

Malone, (Edmund; Two) Suppl(ementary volumes to S. Johnson's and Mr. Stevens' edition of) Shakespeare('s Plays, published in 1778, 1780.)
III. 413, 434

Mandeville, (or Maundeville, Sir John; The Voyaige and) Travaile, (which treateth of the Way to Hierusalem, and of Marvayles of Inde, with other Islands and Countryes. Lond. 1725.
I. 403; Diss. I. (51)

Marbury, Ch.; A Collection of Italian Proverbs. (Lond.) 1581.
II. 398

Marlot (Guil.); Metropoli(s Remensis) histor(ia A Flodoardo primum Auctius digesta ... Studio) Dom. (-Guil. Marlot ... 1666. Remis, Le Lorain, 1679, 2v. Addition to 1714.)
II. 389

Marlowe, (Christopher; The Famous Tragedy of the Rich) Jew of Malta (... edited by Thos.) Heywood. 1633.
III. 392

Marston, (John; Miscellaneous pieces of Ancient English Poesie; viz. The Troublesome Raigne of King John, written by Shakespeare, extant in no edition of his Writings; the Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image, and) certain Satyres, (the) Scourge of Villanie. (1764) 1598.
III. 272 (Scourge ...) 318, 437, 486 (Satyres)

Marten(e, Edmund; De Antiquis) Eccl(esiae) rit(ibus liberi ... Collecti et exornati ab Edm. M. 2" ed. Antv. 1736-38, 4v.
I. 437

Marten(ne, Edmund); Thesaur(us) Anec(dotorum, Novus. 1717)
I. 240, 245, 247

Martenne, (Edmund; Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Dogmaticorum,) Ampl(issima) Collect(io. 1724, 9v.)
II. 62, 75

Martin, (Martin; A late voyage to St. Kilda, the remotest of all the) Hebrid(es or western isles of Scotland. 1698, 1753. Description of the western islands of Scotland ... 1703, 1716. Observations on the western islands of Scotland. 1697.)
Diss. I. (36)

Massieu, (Guill); Hist(oire de la) Poes(ie) Fr(ancoise. 1739).
I. 111, 463, 465; Diss. II. (123)

Mass(on,) Papirius, (or Papire Masson); Eulog(ies on Illustrious Men. 1656.)
II. 70

Master(s, Robert); Hist(ory of the) C(ollege of) C(orpus) C(hristi commonly called Benet in the University of Cambridge. Cambr. 1753).
I. 237

Matthew of Westminster; Flor(es) Hist(oriarum ... 1567, 1601.)
Diss. II. (148)

Mem(oires de) Litt(erature, par M. de S(tallengre) 2 tom. La Haye 1715-17)
I. 63, 64, 74, 134, 136, 139, 142, 178, 252, 253, 254, 342, 357, 407, 456, 463, 467, II. 9, 20, 39, 62, 84, 85, 110, 114, 116, III. 153; Diss. III. viii.

Menag(ius, Aegidius, or Giles); Ori(ines de la) Lang(ue) Fran-(coise. 1650) 1694. (Par. 1750, 2v.)
II. 357

Menestrier, (Claude Francis; De la) Cheval(erie) ancien(ne et moderne avec la maniere de faire les preuves pour tous les ordres de chevalerie. Paris ... 1683.)
I. 331, 332

Menestrier, (Claude Francis); Orig(ine) des Armoir(ies. Paris ... 1680. Other ed. 1671, 1679.)
I. 331, 334, 335

Mercure de France, known as (Le Mercure Galant 1672-1674 6v. Le Noveau Mercure Galant 1677 ... Mercure de France 1724-1791, 977 v. etc.)
II. 360, 368

Meres, Francis; (Palladis Tamia, or) Wits Treasury. 1598.
II. 342, III. 46, 213, 290, 345, 399, 401, 422, 433, 437, 441, 469, 475, 483

Merlin, (Ambrose; Le Compte de la) Vie de Merlin (et des ses Faiz,) et (Compte de ses) Prophecies. (Without place or date, 2v. Rouen, 3v. Par. 1528, 3v. Ven. 1539. Lond. 1641.) Ven. 1554.
III. 146

Meteren, (Emmanuel De); Hist(oria Rerum Potissimum in) Belg(io Gestarum, etc. Hague, 1635. Haye 1618. In English by T. Churchyard. Lond. 1602.)
III. 350

Meurs(ius, John); Gloss(arium) Gr(aeco)-Barb(arum 1610, 1614. In Scapula's Lexicon, 1652.)
I. 348

Meursius, John, ed. see also Leo VI.; Treatise on Tactics. 1612.
Diss. I. 55

Mezeray, (Francis Eudes De; A) Hist(ory of) France. (1643-46-1651) 3v.
II. 414

Middleton, (Conyers; A) Dissert(ation concerning the Origin of Printing in England ... 1735.)
II. 211

Millot, (Claude Xavier); Hist(oire Litteraire des) Troubad(ours. Paris,) 1774. (8v.)
II. 215, 220, 235, 236

Milton, (John; The) Histo(ry of Britain, that part especially now called) Englan(d ... 1670.)
Diss. I. (36)

Miraeus, Aub(ertus); Op(era) Diplomat(ica et Historica. 1723.)
Diss. II. (91)

(Moncornet, Baltazar; Tableaux) hist(oriques ... grav. par Pierre) Daret ... (Paris ... 1652-56, 2v.)
II. 91

Montesquieu, (Charles de Secondat, Baron of; De l') Esprit des Lois. (1748, 1749, 1750, 1751.)
III. 448

Montfaucon, (Bernard de); Bibl(iotheca) bibl(iothecarum) Manus(criptorum nova. Parisiis, Guerin, 1739).
Diss. III. iv, xx

Montfaucon, (Bernard de); Bibl(iotheca) Coislin(iana, olim

Segueriana ... 1715) 1669.
I. 63, 114, 123, 126, 129, 131, 137, 138, 245, 350, 351, 378 421, 439, II. 33.

Montfaucon, (Bernard de); Diar(ium) Itali(cum, sive Monumentum Veterum ... 1702. In Engl. 1725.)
Diss. II. (137)

Montfaucon, (Bernard de; Les) Monum(ens de la Monarchie) Fr(ancoise, avec les fig. de Chaque Regne, que l'injure du Temps a epargnees. 1729-33).
I. 136, 178, 211, 335

Montfaucon, (Bernard de); Palaeog(raphia) Gr(aeca ... 1708.)
I. 411

Mongitor, (Anton); Bib(liotheca) Sic(ula, sive Notitia Scriptorum Siciliae. Panormi 1707 and 1714.)
I. 126, 127

Montagu, Mrs.; Essay on Shakespeare. 1772.
Diss. I. (56)

Montaigne, (Michel de); Essais. (1580, 1588) 1598, (1657, 1659, 1669, 1724, 1725, 1739. Ital. 1590. In Engl. 1613, 1633.)
Diss. III. lxxviii

More, H(enry); Divine dialogues (... Collected and compiled by ... Franciscus Palaeopolitanus.) 1668. (1713, 1743.)
Diss. III. xxxi

More, (Thomas); Epigram(mata cl

II. 426

More, (Thomas; The) Workes (of etc. ed. Rastell) 1557
II. 128

Morhof, (Daniel George); Polyhist(or, sive de Notitia Auctorum et Rerum Commentarii. 1688, 1714) 1747.
II. 23, 377, 413

Mosheim, (John Lawrence; Institutiones) Hist(oriae Ecclesiasticae 1755, 1787.)
Diss. II. (90)

Moyne, (Steph) Le; Var(ia) Sacr(a. Lugd. Bat. 1685, 2v.)
II. 370

Muratori,(Ludovico Antonio); Antichit(atis) itali(cae) med(ii) aev(i 1738-42) Map. 1752.
II. 217; Diss. II. (78, 112, 147), III. xxi

Muratori,(Ludouico Antonio); Rer(um) italicar(um) scriptor(es 1723-37, 25vols. fol). Ad. scriptores rerum italicorum etc. Venetius, 1771

I. 442; Diss. I. 58, II. (91), III. xxiii

Nalson, (John; An Impartial) Collection (of the Great Affairs of State, from the beginning of the Scotch Rebellion in 1639, to the Murder of King Charles I, etc. 1682-3.)
III. 189

Nash, T(homas); Pierce Pemilesse, (his Supplication to the Divell; describing the ouer spreading of vice, and the Suppression of Vertue ... Lond. 1592.) 1593.
III. 400

(Neal or) Neale, (Daniel); Hist(ory of the) Purit(ans, or Protestant Nonconformists; from the Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth. Lond. 1732,) 1733-(8, 4v. Lond. 1754, 2v. Bath, 1793, 5v.)
III. 189

(Negri, Giul ; Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini. Ferrara, 1722)
II. 222, 305, 418

Nevelet, (Is Nic; Mythologia) aesopica, (in qua Aesopi) fabulae (gr. et lat. ccxcviii quarum cxxxvi primum prodeunt acced. Gabriae) fabulae (auctiores,) anonymi (vet.) fabulae (latino carmine ... 1610, 1660, 1698, 1718, 1726, 1741, 1756, 1771 and 1776, 1781, 1809, 1810 and 1817.)
Diss. III. lxxiii

Newcourt, (Richard); Repertor(ium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense; an Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London. Lond. 1708-10, 2v.)
II. 108, 165, 240, III. 319

Niccols, (Richard; Additions to the) Mirror for Mag(istrates). 1610.
III. 260

Nicolson, William; (English) Hist(orical) Libr(ary. 1736).
I. 63, II. 281

Niger, Jul. Script. Florent. see Negri, Giul.

Norden, (John); Speculum Britanniae; (1st part, being a Description of Middlesex. Lond. 1593. Same pars altera; or a Delineation of Northhamptonshire Lond. 1720. Same; an Historical and Chronological Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire. 1593, 1637. Lond. 1723).
III. 73, 86

(Norton, Thomas and Sackville, Thomas); Gorboduc (1565. The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex with a) preface (by John Day the printer. n.d. 1570-)1.
III. 355

(Norton, Thomas and Sackville, Thomas); Gorboduc. ed. (by

Dodsley with) preface (by Joseph) Spence. 1736.
III. 366, 469

Nostradamus, (John; The Lives of the Ancient) Provenc(al Poet(s called Troubadours. 1575.)
I. 113, 463

Olearus, (Adam; Voyages and) Travels of the Ambassadors (sent by Frederick Duke of) Holstein (to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and the King of Persia. 1647, 1656, 1669. In Engl. 1662, 1669. In Dutch, Italian and French, 1727.)
Diss. I. (14)

Orig(in); Orig(ines) in Cantic(a) Cantic(orum) Homil(iarum IIII, proaemium ... In) Jerome, (Saint. Sancti Hieronymi ... Opera omnia ... v.7. 1684.)
III. 318

Osborne, Fr(ancis); Tradit(ional) Mem(oirs of the Reigns of Elizabeth and King James I. 1658.)
II. 401

(Macpherson, James); Ossian('s Poems. 3d ed. Lond.) 1765.
Diss. I. (26, 53)

Oudin; Comment(arii de) Scriptor(ibus et Scriptis) Eccles(iasticis. 1722) 1723.
II. 120; Diss. III, VIII, XC

Palsgrave, (John); Le Clarcissement (de la Langue Francoyse. Lond. 1530.)
II. 420

Pantal(eon, Henry; Posographia Heroum et) illustr(ium) Vir(orum Germaniae. 1565).
Diss. II. (92)

Paris, Matthew; Hist(oria) Maj(or) Angli(ae, Gulielmo Victore ... 1571 ...) Edit(ore Wilhelmo) Watts ... (1640, 1651, 1644) 1684) 1589.
II. 165, 193, 199, 205, 234, 273, 298; Diss. III. lv, lxxiii.

Paris, Matthew; Hist(oria Major Angliae. 1571. Et cum ... Hinc edit. accesserunt duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum et Viginti ? trium) Abbat(um S. Albani) Vita(e ... 1640, 1641, 1644) 1684.
Diss. II. (115, 116, 146, 147)

Parker, (Matthew; De) Antiquitat(e) Brit(annicae Ecclesiae ... 1572, 1605, 1729.)
II. 383; Diss. II. (93, 107)

Parker, (Matthew; A) Def(ence) of Pr(iest's) Marr(iages, ...) against (Th.) Martin. (Lond.)
II. 128

Parker, (Richard); Hist(ory and Antiquities of the University of) Camb(ridge. n.d.)
I. 307

Pasquier, (Etienne); Recherches de la France (1560) 1633.
I. 464, 465; Diss. I. (20), II. (123)

Peacham, (Henry); Minerva (Britannica.) 1612.
III. 299

(Peacock or) Pecock, (Reynold; The Life of this Prelate ... Sequel to the Life of Wickliff. This) ed. pub. (by Rev. John) Lewis, (1744.)
I. 281

Peck, (Francis); Desid(erata) Curios(a; or a Collection of divers scarce and curious Pieces relating chiefly to matters of English History ... 1st vol. 1732. 2nd vol. 1735. 1779, 2v.)
II. 382, 383

Pegge, (Samuel; Memoirs) of Roger de Weseham, (Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. 1761)
Diss. II. (146)

Pelletier, (Jacques du Mans); L'Art Poetique. Lyons, 1555.
I. 465

Pelloutier, (Simon; Histoire de Celtes. 1740-50. 1769-71. 1771) Mem. sur la Langue Celt.
I. 378; Diss. I. (4, 56)

Percy, Thos.; (Reliques of Ancient English Poetry 1765) 1775.

I. 120, 142, 143, 145, 208, 250, 312, II. 37, 126, 134, 138, 174, 250, 332, III. 44, 196; Diss. I. (22, 60)

Petowe, H(enry; The Second Part of) Hero and Leander. 1598.
III. 434

Percy, Thos. (Ed); Th Household Book (of the Earl of Northumberland in 1512 etc. 1768.)
II. 340, 381, 387

Percy, Thos.; Northern Antiquities etc. (2 vols 8°, Lond. 1770 Trans. of Mallet's Introd. a l'Histoire de Dannemarck).
Diss. I. (26)

Perizon(ius, James; Q.) Curtius (in Integrum Restitutus, et Vindicatus, ab Immodica atque Acerba Nimis Crisi Viri Clarissimi, Johannis Clerici. 1713)
I. 125

Petrarch, Francis; Carm(ina Amorum, triumphi et vita Petr. Ven. 1473.)
I. 383

Petrarch, (Francis); Epist(olae Familiares. 1492) Epist(olarum Familiarum lib. xiv ... 1601.)
Diss. II. (121)

Petrarch, (Francis); Triumpho de amor (... 1561).
I. 117

Petr(us,) Blesens(is or Peter of Blois; Petri Blensensis Opera Omnia ... Ed(ited by P. de) Goussainville (Parisiis, 1667)
I. 247

Peter (de) Blois (, or Petrus) Bles(ensis); Epistolae (selectae ad Siculos. In Carusio, G. B. Bibliotheca historica regni Siciliae ... v.1. 1719-23)
Diss. II. (126, 131)

Petreius, Theodor(us); Bibl(iotheca) Cartus(iana, sive Illustrium sacri Cartusiensis ordinis scriptorum Catalogus ...) 1609.
II. 447

Petr(us) Diacon(us; Liber) de Vir(is) illustr(ibus) Cassin(ensibus a Jo. Bap. mari.
I. 441; Diss. II. (88)

Petrus, Diaconus see also Leo, Marsicanus.

Philelphus, (Francis); Epistol(arum Familiarum libri triginta septem. Venice, 1502.)
II. 411

Philips, Edward; Theatrum Poetarum. 167(5)
III. 11, 214, 392, 440

Pic(us, John of) Mirandula; Contra Astrolog(iam Divinatricem et Opuscula. Bonon 1495).
II.9

Pilpay; (De Calilae et Dimnae Amoribus ... 1697. Its first title was Heetopadesa, or Amicable Instruction ... Transl. into English with title: Instructive and Entertaining) Fables (of Pilpay, etc... and ... with the title The Heetopades of Veshnoo Sarma, etc. 1787.) 1747.
I. 130-31

Pistorius, J(ohn); Scriptor(es) de Reb(us) Germanicis. (1607,) 1613. (3v. New) ed. (rev. by) Struvius. (Ratisbon,) 1726. (3v.)
II. 10, 311

Pits; (De Illustribus) Angl(iae Script(oribus) 1619.
I. 47, 85, 232, 439, II. 41, 52, 137, 176, 194, 239, III. 77, 284; Diss. I. (12), II. (96, 109, 126)

Platina, (Baptista; De) Vit(is ac Gestio summorum) Pontif(icum. 1479, 1512, 1574, 1664. In Engl. 1685.) 1485.
Diss. III. xlvii

Plini(us, Secundus Caius); Hist(oria) Nat(uralis. 1469, 1470, 1472, 1473, 1476, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1483, 1487, 1491, 1496, 1497-8, 1499, 1507, 1510, 1511, 1513, 1514, 1516, 1518, 1519, 1524, 1525, 1532, 1535, 1536, 1543, 1548, 1553, 1559, 1560-61, 1561, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1593, 1606, 1608, 1631, 1635, 1685, 1723, 1741, 1776, 1771-82, 1776-91, 1779, 1783. Numerous translations. In Engl. 1601, 1634.)
Diss. I. (14), III. xxi, xxxii

Pocock, Edward, see Abulpharagii, Gregorii; Historia compendiosa dynast ...

Poggi(o, Franc.; Franci Pogii Bracciolini florentini historiae convivales disceptativae, orationes), invectiva(e, epistolae, descriptiones quaedam et facetiarum liber. Argentinae, Joan. Knoblonchus, 1510.)
II. 353

Polcarpus, Leyserus;(Historia Poetarum et Poematum) Medii Aevi ... Halae (Madeb. ...) 1721.
II. 33, 115

Polycronycon (the, conteynyng the berynges and dedes of many tymes, in eyght books, etc. imprinted by William) Caxton, (1482. This chronicle ... was at first compiled in Latin by Ranulph) Hygden ... (Jean de) Trevise (translated it into English 1387 and it is this tr. that Caxton retouched, adding an 8" book or continuation 1357-1460.)
I. 343

Pontanus, (John) Isaac; (Historia) Urb(is) et Rer(um) Amst(elodamensium.) Amst. 1611.
III. 349

Pontoppidan, (Erik The Younger, Bishop of Bergen); The Natural History of Norway (... translated for the Danish With a MSS. Memoir on the subjc of the sea-serpent, in a letter addressed to the St. Jame's Chronicle, signed Philalethes, 1775) London 1755.
Diss. I. (25)

Possevin(us, Antonius); Biblioth(eca) Salect(a ...) 1593. (1607)
Diss. III. xvi

Possevin(us, Antonius); Apparat(us) Sac(e)r. (1607) 1608.
Diss. III. xvi

Powell, (David; The) Hist(oire of) Cambria, (now called) Wales, (a part of the most famous yland of Brytaine; written in the Brytish language above 200 years past, by Caradoc, translated into English by H. Lloyd, Gent.; corrected, augmented and continued out of records and best approved authors, by David Powell.) 1584, 1581.
I. 92, 116; Diss. I. (4, 5)

Poynet, (or Ponet, John; A tragedie or) Dialogue (of the unjust usurped Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, translated from Bernard) Ochinus. 1549.
III. 188

Prynne, (William); Histrio-Mastix. (1633.)
III. 314

Pulton, (Ferdinando; An Abstract of all the Penal) Statutes (which be general 1579 and 1586. A Kalender, or Table, comprehending the effect of all the) Statutes (... 1606, 1608, 1618, 1632, 1640. Collection of) Statutes (repealed and not repealed. 1608. A Collection of sundry) Statutes (frequent in use ... 1618, 1632, 1636. The) Statutes (at large ... 1618)
I. 7

Purchas, (Samuel); Pilgr(imes; in five Books, containing the Voyages ... made by ancient Kings, Patriarchs ... 1614 ... 1626
I. 101

(Puttenham, George); Arte of English Poesie. 1589.
III. 10, 44, 50, 96, 213, 285, 291, 335, 415, 426.

Rabanus, Maurus; ... Op(era, a Georgio Calvinerio.) Colon. 1627
Diss. II. (118, 145)

(Ramsay, Allan); Evergreen (1724).
II. 319

Randolph, (Thomas; The) Muses' Looking-glass; (A comedy. Lond. 1638, 1640, 1652. Oxf. 1668, 1702.)
I. 210

Registr(um) honoris de Richmont, (exhibens terrarum et villarum ...) Lond. 1722.
Diss. III. lxxiii

Reinesius, (Thomas); Epist(olae. 1670).
II. 353

(Resenius, Peter John); Jus Aulicum (vetus Regum) Norwe(gorum, dictum) Hirdskraa. 1673.
Diss. I. (55)

Reulidges, (Richard; A monster lately found out and discovered, or The) Scourging of Tiplers. (Lond.) 1628.
III. 289

Reyner(us, Clemenus); Apostolat(us) Benedict(inorum in Anglia, sive disceptatio ... 1626.)
II. 446

Riccoboni, (Louis; Histoire du) Theatr(e) Ital(ien. Par. 1728, 2v.)
II. 356, 377

Rival (, Mr.; The Irish missionary unmasked; or the) Abb(e Goulde convicted of four falsehoods: tr. from the French, by D. G. Lond. 1724).
I. 3

Robertson, (William; The) Hist(ory of the Reign of the Emperor) Charles V (... 1769.) 1772.
Diss. I. (55), II. (84, 133)

Roper, (William); Life and Death of More. (1729,) 1731, (1765).
II. 387, 428

Rowland(s, Henry); Mona (Antiqua restaurata. 1723, 1765. Suppl. 1775.)
Diss. I. (47)

Rudimentum noviciorum. Lubic(ana) 1475.
Diss. III. lxxiv

Rymer, (Thomas); Foed(era Convenionis ... 1704-35, 1727, 1745. Abbr. 1731.)
I. 318, II. 132, 156, 419, 422, 448, III. 42, 302

Rymer, (Thomas; A) Short View of Trag(edy of the last age ...) 1693.
I. 113

(Sade, P. Ald. de; Memoires pour la) Vie de (Francois) Petrarque (1764-67.) 1766.
I. 342, 416, 461, II. 41, 113

(Saemund, Sigfusson); Edda (... 1787-1828. Pt. I. Odas) myth(ologicas ... Pt. II. Odas) myth(ologica historicas ... Pt. III. Carmina Voluspa) ...
I. 127; Diss. I. (26, 27, 36, 57)

Sainte Palaye, Jean Baptiste de la Curne de; Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie 1759(-1781)
I. 40, 149, 178, 200, 208, 254, 346, 417, 459(2); Diss. I. 6

Salisbury, J(ohn) of); Polycrat(icon; or, De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum. Ed.1. n.d. 1513,) 1515, 1595. (In Fr., 1640.)
I. 238, 244, 403, 407, 419, II. 33, 167, 168, 208; Diss. II. (77, 119, 126, 131, 143)

Salmasius, (Claude); De Hellenist(ica ... 1645).
Diss. I. (24, 33, 47)

Salvian(us, Massiliensis, Presbyter; D. Salviani ... de Vero Judicio et Providentia dei ... libri VIII, Cura) J. A. Bra(e)sicani (... editi ac eruditis ... scholiis illustrati ... Basileae,) 1530.
II. 417

Salviati, (Lionardo); Avverti(menti della lingua sopra il) Decam(erone. 1584, 1586. 2v. Naples, 1712.)
III. 237

Sanders, (Nicholas); De (Origine) Schism(atis Anglicani, 1585).
II. 446

Sarbiev(ius or Sarbiewski, Matthias Casimir; Lyricorum lib. IV, ep)od(on lib. unus, alterque epigrammatum. 1632.)
Diss. I. (55)

Sauval, (Henri; Histoire et Recherches des) Anti(quitez) de la (Ville de) Paris. (Paris, 1724.)
I. 245

Saxo Grammat(icus); Hist(ory of) Den(mark. 1514, 1534, 1576, 1644, 1771.)
Diss. I. (25, 32, 68)

Saxo grammat(icus) Hist(oriae Danicae LL. XVI.) St. (Johannis) Stephan(ius recognovit, notisque illustravit. 1644, 1771.)
Diss. I. (29)

Schardius, Sim(on); Schardi(us redivivus, sive) rer(um) german(icarum) scriptores (varii ...) Basil. 1574. (1673.)
Diss. I. 10

Schilter, (John); Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum. (1728.)
Diss. I. (55) 883

Schroder, (Johan Henrik; Glossarii) Latino (Svethici Specimen vetustam e codice Mscr. Bibliothecae Reg. Acad. Upsal ...)
Praes (J. H.) Schroder (... Upsal.)
Diss. I. (25)

Schultens, (Albert); Vit(a et Res Gestae Sultani) Saladin(i, Necnon Excerpta ex Historia Abul Fedae; Arab. et Lat. Lugd. Bat. 1732.)
I. 189

Scot, (Jo.) Erigena; De Divis(ione) Natur(ae Libri V., cum Annotat. Tho. Gale. Oxon. 1681.)
II. 75

Selden, (John; Notes and Illustrations on) Drayton's Poly-Olb(ion 1612.)
I. 142, 145, 425, 116

Selden, (John); Op(era omnia: collegit ac recensiut, vitam auctoris,) praefat(iones et in)dic(es adjecit Dav. Wilkins, 1726).
Diss. II. (145)

Seneca, (Lucius Annaeus); De Ira, (libri iii ad Novatum Fratrem, ex recens Henr. Ernestii. 1652.)
Diss. III. lix

Serenius, (D. D.; English and Swedish) Diction(ary. 1734, 1757.)
Diss. I. (36)

Serrar(ius, Nic); Rer(um) mogunt(icarum ... 1722-27.)
Diss. II. (102)

Seymour, (Robert; A) Surv(ey of the Cities of) Lond(on and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and parts adjacent. 1734-5.)
III. 291

Shakespeare, (Wm.; Works) Oxf(ord) Ed. 1771.
I. 206

Sidney, (Sir Philip); Defense of Poesie. (1595) 1629.
III. 273

Simon, R(ichard); Critique de la Bib(lioteque des Auteurs) Eccles(iastiques ... publiez) par (M. Ellies) Dupin ... (Paris 1730. 4v.)
II. 413

Simon, R(ichard); Lett(res) Chois(ies. Nuov. ed. Amst. Mortier 1730, 4v.)
I. 293.

Skelton, (John; Pithy, pleasaunt, and profitable Workes of Maister Skelton, Poete Laureate, nowe collected and newly published. 1568. This edition contains The) Crowne Lawrell, (etc.)
II. 89, 132, 243

Skinner, (Stephen; Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae ed. by Thos. Henshaw, 1671).
I. 303, 364, 369

Snorro, (Sturlesonius; Heimskringla ... seu) hist(oriae) reg(um) sept(entrionalium ... 1697.)
Diss. I. (43)

Speed, (John; History of Great Britain ... with the successions, Lives, Acts and Issues of the English Monarchs from Julius Caesar to James I. Lond.) 1611, (1614, 1623).
II. 153, 267

Spelman, Sir Henry; Concil(ia Decreta Leges Constitutiones in re Ecclesiarum orbis Britannici. I) 1639, (II 1664 ed. Dugdale
I. 3, 58; Diss. I. 7, 41

Spelman, Sir Henry; Life of King Alfred the Great. (Pub. w. commentary by C. Walker, 1678). (Ed. by Hearne, 1708).
Diss. I. 27, II. 109

Steevens, (George; Twenty of the Plays of) Shakespear ... Lond. 1766, 4v.)
III. 438, 445

Steevens, (George and) Johns(on, Samuel); Shakespeare('s Plays edited in 10 vols. 1773. Reissue 1778).
III. 114, 434; Diss. III. vl, lxxxiii

Stephan(us, Bishop) of Tournay; Epistolae. Paris, 1611.
Diss. II. (137)

Stevens, (Capt. John); Monast(icon Hibernicum; or the Monastical History of Ireland. Lond. 1722.)
I. 290, 292

Stillingfleet, Edward; Origines Britannicae (1685) 1688.
I. 3, II. 281; Diss. I. 7, 33

Stowe (John; Summary of English) Chron(icles 1561) Ed. 1615.
II. 153, (ed. Howe's 1615), 201, 204, 217, 233, 381, III. 9, 26, 58, 213

Stowe, (John); Ann(als or General Chronicle of England 1580) Ed. 1615.
III. 345

Stowe, (John); Surv(ey of) Lond(on, 1598, 1603) 1599, 1616, 1618.
I. 116 (1618);236 (1599);245; 253 (1616); 292, II. 106, 393 (Strype's ed.), 396, III. 46, 299

Strab(o); Geograph(ia. 1469? ...)1587 (1620, 1707).
Diss. I. (66)

Strafford(e, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of); Letters (and Dispatches, with an essay towards his Life by Sir G. Radcliffe, collected by W. Knowler. Lond.) 1739, (2v.)
II. 394, 400, 406

Strutt, (Joseph; Horda Angel-Cynnan; or a Complete View of the) Manners, Customs, (Arms, Habits, etc. of) the People of England ... (Lond. 1774)
II. 304-5(-6)

Struvi(us, Burcardus Gotthelfius); Bibl(iotheca) Hist(oriae) Liter(ariae selectae, post variorum emendationes et additamenta, opus ita formavit, ut pre novum dici queat, Joannes Fridericus) Jugl(er. 1754-63. Suppl. ... ad) Bibl(iothecam) Litter(ariam) Struvio-Jugl(erianam. 1785.)
Diss. II. (91)

Struys, (John); Voyages (and Travels through Muscovia, Tartary, India, and most of the Eastern World. 1684.)
Diss. I. (14)

Strype, (John); Ann(als of the) Reformat(ion 1709-1731).
I. 267, II. 444, III. 181, ed. 1725, p.327

Strype, (John); Eccles(iastical) Mem(orials 1721-1733).
II. 397, 440, 449, 451, III. 5, 43, 46, 61, 170, 186, 188, 189, 191, 197, 202, 204, 302, 319, 320, 321, 326, 333, 355, 385,

429, 451, 465.

Strype, (John; Memorials of Thomas) Crammer (1694).
II. 453

Strype, (John; The History of the Life and Acts of Edmund) Grindal, (Archbishop of Canterbury. 2pts. fol. 1710).
I. 241

Strype, (John; The Life and Acts of John) Whitgift, (Archbishop of Canterbury. 2pts. fol. 1718
II. 446

Stubbes, (Phillip; The) Anatomie of Abuses (... 1583). 1595.
III. 289

Stukeley, (Will); Itin(erarium) Curios(um ... Lond. 1724, 1776.)
I. 154, II. 175

Suffridus, Petrus; De Frisiorum (antiquitate et) orig(ine libri tres. 1590)
Diss. I. (55)

Surius, (Laurentius); Concil(ia. 1567.)
III. 325

Surius, Laurentius; (De) vit(is) sanctor(um ... 1551-1560, 1570-5, 1576, 1581, 1617)-18.
Diss. III. 1, lxviii

Sweertius, (Franc); Epitaphia (jocoseria) ed. Colon (1623). 1645.
Diss. III. xci

Swift, (Jonathan); Tale of a tub; (with an account of a battle between the ancient and modern books in St. James' library. 1704, 1710, 1720, 1724, 1733, 1742.)
Diss. III. xxxii

Tacitus, (Caius Cornelius); Annal(es. 1580, 1581, 1604. In Engl. 1598, 1604, 1622, 1640, 1698, 1716. In Ital. 1589.)
Diss. I. (54, 66, 67)

Tacitus, (Caius Cornelius); Germ(ania. 1473? Later editions called De) Mor(ibus) Germ(anorum 1476, 1509, 1519, 1551, 1579, 1580, 1594, 1602, 1637, 1664, 1678, 1714, 1747, 1749, 1766.)
Diss. I. (54, 66, 67)

Tanner, Thos.; Not(itia) Mon(asticon 1695)
II. 434, 159; Diss. II. (118)

Tanner, Thos; Bibl(iotheca Britannico Hibernica 1748)
I. 232, 262, 318, 378, 393, 440, 443, II. 7, 448, III. 58, 84, 129, 425; Diss. I. (49), II. (122, 135(2), 147)

Tasso, (Torquato); Disc(orsi) del Poema Eroic(a. Napl.)
I. 149

Teatro italiano, (o sia scelta di tragedie per uso della scena raccolto da Scip. Maffei) Veron(a), 1723(-25, 3v. Venise, 1746, 3v.)
II. 207

Temple, Sir William; Essays. (1692)
Diss. I. 35, 47, 51

Theophan(es S); Chronographia. 1648, 1729).
Diss. II. (86)

Thompson, (Aaron; The British) History, translated ... (from the Latin) of Jeffrey of Monmouth (with a large preface concerning the authority of the History). London, 1718.
Diss. I. (7)

Thynne, (Francis); Continuat(ion of Hollinshed's) Hist(ory of) Scot(land, from the year 1571 to the year 1586. Lond. 1587).
II. 280

Tillemont, (Lewis Sebastian Le Nain De); Memoir(es pour servir a l')Hist(oire) Ecclesiast(ique des six Premiers Siecles. 1693-1703, 16v.)
II. 306

Toland, (John); Hist(ory of the) Druid(s. 1750. In Latin 1720.)
Diss. I. (36)

Torfaeus, (Thermodus); Orcad(es, seu Rerum) Orcad(ensium) Hist(oriae. 1697, 1715.)
Diss. I. (34, 45)

Torfaeus, (Thermodus); Hist(oria Rerum) Norveg(icarum. 1711.)
Diss. I. (68)

Trissino, (John George); Italia Liberata d(a) Goth(i 1547-8, 3v. Reprinted 1729, 3v.)
III. 25

Trithemius, (John); Compend(ium, sive breviarium primi voluminis) annal(ium, sive historiarum, de origine rerum et gentis Francorum ... 1515, 1539.) 1601.
Diss. I. (55)

Trithemius, (John); De (viris) illustr(ibus ordinis S.) Bened(ictim. 1575.)
II. 33; Diss. III. xc

Trivet, Nic(olaus; Chronicon sive) Annal(es sex Regum Angliae ... 1719. Annalium contin ... 1722).
I. 116

Turpin, J(oanni); De vit(a) Carol(i) magn(i) et Rolandi, hist(oria)

J(oanni) Turpin(o ...) 1566. (1822).
Diss. I. (18, 19, 57)

Twyne, (Brian); Antiq(uitatis) Acad(emiae) Oxon(iensis) Apol(ogia ... Oxon. 1608).
I. 433, II. 440

Twyne, J(ohn; Joannis Twini Bolingdunensis, Angli), de Reb(us) Albionic(is, Britannicis atque Anglicis,) Comm(entariorum. Libri duo). Lond. 1590.
Diss. II. (82)

(Twysden, Sir Roger; Historiae Anglicanae) Script(ores) Dec(em; Simeon Monachus Dunelmensis, Johannes Prior Hagustal densis, Ricardus Prior Hagustaldensis, Ailredus Abbas Rievallensis, Radulphus de Diceto Londoniensis, Johannes Brompton Jornallensis, Gervasius Morachus Dorobornensis, Thomas) Stubbs (Dominicanus, Gulielmus) Thorn (Contuariensis, Henricus) Knighton (Leicestrensis ex vetustis manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi ...) Lond(on) 1652.
I. 253, 303, 364, 369; Diss. II. (98)

Tyrwhitt, Thomas (Ed.); Chaucer. 1775.
II. 273, III. 91, 131; Diss. III. vi, lix, lxvii, lxxxi, lxxxiii, xcii

Tzet(z)es, (Joannes; Historiarum variarum) chiliad(e)s, (Graece textum ad fidem duor. codd. monacens recognovit, brevi annot. et indicibus instruxit Th. Kiessling. Lipsiae, Vogel 1826. Other editions.)
I. 349

Ussher, (James); Brit(annicarum Ecclesiarum) Antiquit(ates et Primordia ... Dubl. 1639. Lond. 1687.)
II. 189; Diss. I. (12)

Vannozzi, Bonifacio; Lettere miscellanee. 1606.
Diss. III. lxxxiv

Varillas, (Anthony); Anecdot(es) de Florence (ou l'Histoire Secrette de la Maison de Medicis. Haye, 1685. Tr. into Eng. by Spence.)
II. 428

Varillas, (Anthony); Hist(oire) de Francois (I. Haye, 1684, 2v. Paris, 1685, 2v.)
II. 414

Vegetius, (Flavius Renatus; Institutorum) Re(i) Milit(aris).
II. 431

Velly, (Paul Francois); Hist(oire de) Fr(ance. 1760-86. A History of France. 1770-89).
I. 111

Verg(il,) Polydore); De Rer(um) Inventor(ibus. 1499. Lond. 1577. Adagia, et de Rerum Inventoribus. Bas. 1522, 1525, 2536. Genev. 1609. Amst. 1671. Ven. 1543, 1550. Lond. 1551.)
III. 307

Verg(il,) Polydore); Hist(oria) Angl(icana. Bas.) 1534, (1555. Gaud. 1556-7, 2v. Bas. 1570. Lugd. Bat. 1651.)
III. 143, 307

Vigneul (de) Marville; Mel(anges d'histoire et de) litt(erature. Paris, 1725) 1st ed. 1699-1701.
II. 84, 166

Villani, (Giovanni); Istor(ie Fiorentino ... Continued by) Villani, (M.) Istor(ie. 1581-96 1st ed.)
I. 147

Viror(um) Claror(um ... ad Melch. Goldastum) Epistol(ae ann. 1598-1611 ex bibliotheca H. Guntheri Thulemarii Editae ... 1688.)
II. 415

du Verdier see de la Croix; (Leo) Bibliotheques) Fr(anc)ises) de la Croix (du Maine et de du Verdier. n.e. Paris, 1772)
I. 338, II. 62, III. 349; (Diss. III. xx)

Vincent of Beuvais; Specul(um) Hist(oriale et Morale. 1478, 1483, 1486. Naturale, Morale et) Hist(oriale. 1484) Specul(um Doctrinale, Naturale et) Hist(oriale. 1494.)
Diss. II. (77, 118, 131), III. i, xiii, xxv, xxxvii, xlii, xlvii, xlix, liv, lix, lxi, lxxiv, lxxxiii, lxxxvi

Vincent of Beauvais; (Bibliotheca Mundi, continens Saecula quatuor, Doctrinale,) Hist(oriale, Naturale, et Morale in) Lib(ros XXXII distributa. Argent. Ap. Jo. Mentellin, 1473, 10v.)
I. 164

Vogt, (John); Catalogus Historico-Criticus) Libr(orum) Rarior(um, sive ad scriptas hujus Argumenti spicilegium, Index et Accessiones. Hamb. 1732, 1738,) 1753, (1793.)
I. 350

Voltaire, (Francis Marie Aronet de; (The) Gener(al) Hist(ory and State of Europe, from the time of Charlemain to Charles the Fifth ... 1754. Pt. III 1755. Pt. IV 1757. Pt. V 1757. Pt. VI 1757) 1756.
II. 381, III. 177; Diss. I. (18), II. (137)

Voragine, Jacobus de; Legenda Aurea 1479.
Diss. III. xiii, xv, xviii

Vossius, (Gerard-John; De) Histori(cis) Latin(is, Libri 3). Lugd. Bat. 1627. (1651)
I. 103, 232, 384, II. 13, 61, 108 (Suppl. by Sandius and Hallerwood Amst. 1689; Diss. II. (99, 120, 145), III. lxiv

Voss(ius, Gerard-John; De) Hist(oricis) Gr(aecis, Lib. IV. Lugd. Bat. 1650.)
I. 441

Vossius, (Gerard-John; De) Theolog(ia) gentil(i et physiologia Christiana ... 1641, 1668.)
Diss. I. (55)

Walpole, (Horace, Earl of Orford); Anec(dotes of) Paint(ing in England, with some Account of the principal Artists, and incidental Notes on other Arts, collected by the late Mr. Vertue, etc., now digested and published from his original Mss. v.1-2 1762. v.3, 1763. v.4, 1771. v.2-3, 1768.)
I. 209, 304, 307, 429, 437, II. 93, 140, III. 7

Walpole, (Horatio (or Horace) fourth Earl of Orford; A) Catal(ogue of the) Royal and Noble Authors (of England. 2v. 1758) 1759.
I. 113, 114, III. 4, 86

Walpole, H(orace, Earl of Orford); Miscellaneous Antiquities ... Strawberry Hill, 1772.
III. 28

Walsing(ham, Thomas S. Albani Mon.; Hist(oria breuis) Angli(ae ab Edvardo I ad Henricum V. Lond. 1574. Et a Gul. Cambdeno edita.) Franc. (1603.)
I. 116, 252, 254

Walsing(ham, Thomas); Ypodigm(a) Neustr(iae ... 1602. For this edition see) Camd(en, W. The Antiquary) Angl(ica, Hibernica) Norman(nica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta, etc. 1602.)
I. 128, 254

Wanley, Humfrey; Catalogue (A. S. MSS. pub. in Hickes).
I. 62, 63, 155, 350; Diss. I. (35, 36, 58, 59), II. (101)

Antiquit. Septentr.

(Warburton, Wm); Supplement to Pref. to Jarvis's Don Quixote (1742)
I. 112

Ware, (Sir James, or Waraeus Jacobus; De) Scriptor(ibus) Hiber(niae, Libri duo. Dub. 1639.)
II. 299, 426

(Warton, Jos.); Essay on Pope. (1756-1782).
I. 66, II. 409, III. 251, 452

(Warton, Thos.); Life of Sir Thomas Pope. (1772)
II. 392, 456, III. 34, 44, 46, 189, 299, 326, 404

(Warton, Thos.); Observations on the Faery Queen. (1754-62).

I. 10, 12, 116, 128, 132, 138, 146, 175, 212, 224, 303, 399,
II. 37, 54, 202, 265, 381

Webbe, William; Discourse of English Poetrie. 1586.
III. 44, 275, 291, 376, 400, 483

Weever; Funerall Monuments. (1610, 1722 Oxf. 80) 1631.
I. 294, 302, II. 47, 281, III. 81; Diss. II. 118, III.

Wharton, Henry; (Historia de) Episcapis (et Decacanis Londinensibus necnon de Episcopis et Decanis) Assav(ensibus) Lond. 1695.
Diss. I. 9, II. 125, 133

Wharton, Henry; Anglia Sacra (2 vols. fol. London 1691).
II. 249, 423, 424; Diss. II. 92, 93, 95(2), 99, 101, 106, 110, 112, 115, 118, 121, 124, 125, 127, 132, 134, 143

Wharton, H(enry); Auctar. Histor. Dogmat. (Dogmatical history of the Holy Scriptures).
I. 4

Wheelock, Abraham, ed. see Bede, The Venerable; Historiae Ecclesiasticae ...

Whetstone, G(eorge; A) Mir(our) for Mag(istrates) of Cities; (in 2 parts. Lond. 1584.) 1586.
III. 289

Wickliffe, (Wicliff, de Wyclif, Wiclef, or Wycklyffe, John); (Dialogus, or, Dialogue, in Latin, between Truth, Falsehood, and Wisdom. 1525. New ed. Franc. 1753.)
I. 307, 164

Widmore, (Richard); Hist(ory of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster, commonly called) Westminster Abbey. 1751.
II. 137, 328

Wilkins, (David); Concil(ia) Magn(ae) Brit(anniae et Hiberniae a Synodo Verolamiensi 446, ad Lond. 1717; accedunt Constitutiones et alia ad Hist. Eccles. Angl. spectantia. 1736)-37.
II. 205, 430; Diss. I. (10), II. (79)

Willis, (Browne, Esq.); Notit(ia) Parliament(aria ... Lond. 1715-16, 2v. 3v.) 1750. (1" part 2" edit 1730).
II. 156

Willis, Browne; (History of the) Mitr(ed Parliamentary) Abb(eys and Conventual Cathedral Churches ...)
II. 159; Diss. II. (135)

Wilson, (Thomas; The) Arte of Rhetorike. 1553.
III. 91, 353

Wilson, (Thomas; The Rule of Reason, conteinynge the) Arte of Logique (set forth in Englishe ... 1552 ...) 1567 ...
III. 298

Winstanley, (Wm.; England's Worthies. 1684 and 1687).
II. 81

Wolf(ius, John Christopher); Bibl(iotheca) Hebr(aea. 1715.)
II. 33, 39

Wolfius, (John Christopher); Cur(ae) Philol(ogicae) in (Nov.)
T(est. Hamb. 1733.) Bas. 1741.
II. 306

Wormius, Olaus; Monum(entorum) Dan(icorum, 1643) 1634.
Diss. I. (25, 53)

Wormius, Olaus; Runic(a, seu) dan(ica) litter(atura antiquissima)
... Hafn (1636, 1652) 1651.
Diss. I. (23, 24, 27, 33, 34, 45, 56, 57)

Wotton, Wm.; A Short View of Hickes's Thesaurus. 1708.
Diss. I. 38, 40, 46, 53, 54, 56, 66

Wood, Anthony à; Athenae Oxonienses. 1691-2.
II. 402, III. 3, 7, 28, 43, 45, 58, 61, 73, 84(2), 86, 87, 96, 167, 186, 206, 210, 213, 216, 281, 283, 284, 287, 291, 313, 317, 320, 353, 389, 426, 437, 447, 448, 466

Wood, Anthony à; History and Antiquities of Oxford. (1674).
I. 92, 232, 234, 235, 290, 295, 408, 432, II. 7, 34, 41, 124, 131, 173, 176, 188, 210, 337, 381, 382, 387, 422, 424(3), 425, 426, 434, 435, 441, 447, 449(2), 453, 460; Diss. II. (82, 83, 108, 114, 116, 132, 133, 147, 149

Wood, Anthony à; Fasti Oxonienses 1691-2
III. 286

Barnes(, Joshua; Life of Edward III. 1688)
I. 252

Belet)hus, Joannes; Rationale) divin(orum officiorum..1565-1609-1614)
I, 247.

Boston of Bury. Catal(ogus) Scriptor(um) Eccles(iae printed with some omissions in Tanner's Bibliotheca Ed. 1748.)
Diss. II, (146)

Bradwardine,(Thomas; De Causa Dei. Published by Sir Henry Savile 1617 (1618)
I, 388.

Bysshe(, Sir Edward; (Nicolai) Upton(i de Studio) Milit(ari Libri Quatuor, etc. London 1654. With) not(es in English.)
I, 334.

Casley, (D.); Cat(alogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library. London 1734).
Diss. I. (37)

Eccard (or Eckhard, John George; (1674-1730)) Corp(us) Histor(icorum Medii Aevi, Lips. 1723 Fanc et Lips. 1743.)
II. 20.

Félibien, (André. Les divertissemens de Versailles donnez par le Roi a toute sa cour ... en l' année.
Relation de la feste de Versailles, du 18 Juillet 1668.
Paris 1679?)
I. 247.

Feustel, Christian; Miscellan(ea sacra et erudita de phraseologia et emphasi biblica. 1715
II. 424.

Fisher, John; Hereafter foloweth a moruynge remembranee had at) the moneth mynde of ... Margarete Countesse of Rychemonde....(B.L. reprinted after edition of Wynekyn de worde by T.) Baker. (London 1708, 1711-8)
III. 322.

Fontanini(, Juste; Biblioteca della eloquenza italiana avec les Annotations d' Apostolo Zeno 1755)
III. 407.

Fulgentius(, Fabius Planciades; Expositio sermonum antiquorum De aetatibus mundi et hominis. Mythogicarum libri III. Expositio Vergilianae Continentiae)
II. 76.

(Goethals) Hen)ricus or) Gandav; Monastichon (Bibliotheca ecclesiastica 1639, 1716).
Diss. I. (143)

Hincmar(us; De praedestinat(ione Dei et libero arbitrio.) Against Gottschalk. (Works.) ed.(by Jeques) Sirmond. (Paris, 1645)
II. 33.

Jons(son,) Arngrim; Crymogaea, Hamburg, 1609.
Diss. I. (24,28,41,44,45).

Langius, Paulus; Chron(icon) Citiz(enae. in) J.Pistorii Illustr(ium) Vet(erum) Scriptor(um...)Frankof(urti) 1583(-1613)
Diss. III. xci.

Loun(oy,) J(ean de; De varia Aristotel(is) in Acad(emia) Pari(siensi) fortun(a,...1653, 56,) 1662...
I. 292.

Mezeray, (Francois Eules; Histoire de France depuis Faramond jusqu'a Louis le Juste. 3 Vols. 1645 - 1651.)
I. 111, 254.

(Muratori, Ludovico Antonio); Rer(um) italic(arum) scriptor(es 25 Vols. 1723 - 1738)
I. 293.

Nessel, (Daniel de; Catalogus, sive recensio specialis ommium codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum, etc. 1690).
I. 348.

Niceron, (Jean Pierre; Memoires pour servir a l' Histoire des Hommes illustres dans la Republique des Lettres, avee un Catalogue raisonnu de leurs onvrages. 43 Vols. Paris 1729-45). 1736.
II. 116.

Oihenart, Arnauld d'; Notit(ia) utriusque Vasconiae (tum Ibericae, tum Aquitanicae...) Par. 1638. (1656)
Diss. I. (20)

Paris, J(oannes) de; (Margarita Evangelica, sive Jesu Christi.. vita e Sanctorum Quatuor Evangeliorum dispositione concordi descripta per..) J. de Paris (1659) ?
I. 245.

Pez, Bernhard; Thesaurus Anecdot(orum novissiorum..6 Vols. 1721 - 23)
II. 76.

Quadrilog(us,) Vit(a) T. Becket. (ed. Christian Wolf.) Bruxell 1682.
Diss. II. (125)

Quetif, Jacob (and Echard, J; Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum Paris 1719)
II. 10, 41, 116.

Renaudot, Eusebe; De barb(aricis) Aristotel(is librorum) versionib(us dis quisitio. in J. A.) Fabric(ii .Bibl(iotheca) Gi(seca etc. Vol. 12. 1718 etc.)
Diss. II. (87.)

Selden, (John (1584-1654) De Synedr(iis London 1650-5)
II. 115.

(Stoy, Fridericus Paulus; Resp. Commentatio) de Bibliotheca Caroli M. (Imperatoris...Praes.) J.D.Koeler. Altdor(fi.)1727
Diss. I. (91)

Thrithem(ius. De S(riptoribus)E(cclesiasticus Basle 1494)
II. 33.

Vaissette, (Joseph; History of Languedoc (1730-1734)
I. 461, 462.

Ware, (Sir James; De Sriptoribus Hiberniae Dublin 1639)
I. 85
III. 481

Wasse (Joseph; (1672-1738) many Contributions to C.Jebb's Classical periodical) Bibl(iotheca Liter(aria etc.)
London 1722 (1724)
II. 360.

Willibaldus (Vita seu Hodoeporicon Soniti Willibaldi scriptum a Sanctimoniali.)
II. 75.

Winwood. (Sir Ralph; Memorials of affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I, Collected Chiefly from the original papers of the right honourable Sir. Ralph Winwood....ed. Sawyer 3 Vols. 1725.)
II. 401.

Wotton (Wm.; Leg(es) Wall(icae) Trans. (of) laws of Hywel Dda (1730).
Diss. I. (49)

Note.

There yet remain about twenty references which I have not been able to complete because of the vagueness or great abbreviations of the citation. While Warton was very careful to acknowledge his borrowings from other writers, he was extremely indifferent as to the exactness of his references, so that it has required a long and difficult search to identify many of them.

X

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I Editions of Warton's Works.

(Warton, Thos:) The Pleasures of Melancholy. A Poem. London, 1747. 4°

---------- The Triumph of Isis, a poem. (1749) 4°

---------- A description of the city, college and cathedral of Winchester...The whole illustrated with.... particulars, collected from a manuscript of A. Wood, etc. London n.d. (1750) 12°

Warton, Thos:- T. Warton's notes, and corrections to his History of Winchester College, and Cathedral printed in 1750 etc. (Privately printed: Middle Hill, 1857 ?) fol.

---------- Another edition privately printed 1857 ? 8°

(Warton, Thos:) Newmarket, a Satire. London 1751.

Warton, Thos: Ode for Music as performed at the theatre in Oxford on the second of July, 1751, being the anniversary ...for the Commemoration of benefactions to the University. Oxford (1751) 4°

(Warton, Thos:) editor) The Union; or Select Scotch and English Prices. Edinburgh 1753. 8°

---------- (Same) second edition. London 1759. 8°

---------- (Same) new edition. Oxford, etc. 1796 (eight) 16°

Warton, Thos. Observations on the Faerie Queen of Spenser. London 1754.

---------- Second. Corrected and enlarged 2 Vols. 1762 688 e 22, 23.

---------- (Same) A new edition 2 Vols. 1807.

(Warton, Thos:) Inscriptionum Romanarum Metricorum Delectus

---------- Mons Catharinae prope Wintoniam: poema London 1760. 4°

---------- (Same) ed. bettia. Oxon. 1774 4°

---------- A companion to the Guide, and Guide to the Companion, etc. London (1760 ?)

---------- (Same) second ed. enlarged. 8° (1762 ?)

(Warton, Thos:) (Same) fourth edition. n.d. (1)

---------- (Same) ed. Cooke. Oxford 1806. 12°

Warton, Thos: The life and literary remains of R.Bothurst 2 Vols. London, 1761.

(Warton, Thos: editor) The Oxford Sausage; or Select Poetical Pieces written by the most celebrated Wits of the University of Oxford. London 1764.

---------- (Same) London 1772, 1814, 1815, 1822.

---------- (Same) Oxford 1821.

---------- Anthologiae Graecae à C. Cephala conditae libri tres etc. 1766. 999 a 22

Warton, Thos: Dissertatio de Bucolicis Graecorum.Theocrite ....quae supersunt...edidit T. W. 1770 etc. 2 Vols. 4°

---------- The Life of Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College Oxford. Chiefly compiled from original evidences. London 1772 8°

---------- (Same) second ed. 1780

---------- (Same) second ed., cor. and enl. London 1780 8° 614 e 2 275 1 26

---------- The History of English Poetry from the close of the Eleventh Century to the Commencement of the 18th Century to which are prefixed Two Dissertations: 1. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe; 2. On the Introduction of Learning into England. 3 Vols. 4° London 1774, 1778, 1781. Vol. contains additional dissertations on the 'Gesta Romanorum.'

---------- (Same) Second edition 3 Vols. (eighteenth) London, 1775-81.

---------- History of English Poetry, etc. New edition carefully revised, with..notes by..Mr. Ritson..Dr. Ashby, Mr. Douce, Mr. Park and other eminent antiquaries, and by the editor. (R.Price) 4 Vols. London 1824. 8°

---------- (Another ed.) From ed. of 1824 superintended by .. R.Price, including notes of Mr. Ritson, Dr. Ashby, Mr. Douce, and Mr. Park. Now further improved by the corrections and additions of several eminent antiquaries. (Ed. by R. Taylor) 3 Vols. London 1840. 8°

---------- History of English Poetry etc.... a full reprint-text and notes--of edition London 1778-1781. London 1870. One of a Murray's Reprints.

(1) Before 1762. See Nichols; Ill. Lit. VIII, 396.

Warton, Thos: History of English Poetry etc. a preface by Richard Price and notes variorum; ed. by W. C. Hazlitt. 4 Vols. London 1871.

---------- (Same) A full reprint.. of ed. London 1778 and 1781. London (1875) 8°. Part of 'The World Library of Standard Books.'

(Fillingham, William:) An index to the History of English Poetry by Thomas Warton, D.D. etc. London: 1806, 4°

Warton, Thos: Poems. A new edition with Additions. London 1777, 8°.

---------- Poems. Third ed. corrected. London 1779, 8°.

---------- The Poems on Various Subjects of Thomas Warton, B.D. Late Fellow of Trinity College, Professor of Poetry, and Camden Professor of History, at Oxford, and Poet Laureate. Now first collected. London 1791.

---------- Poetical Works in The Works of the British Poets. with Prefaces, Biographical and Critical. By Robert Anderson, Edinburgh 1793, etc. 8° Vol. 11, 1795. (Memoir. pp 1053-60. Poems. 1061-1102.)

---------- The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Warton, B.D. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; and Poet Laureate. Fifth edition, corrected and enlarged. To which are added Inscripionum Romanorum delectus, and an inaugural speech as Camden Professor of History, never before published. Together with Memoirs of his Life and Writings; and notes, critical and explanatory. By Richard Mant, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 2 Vols. Oxford 1802.

---------- Poetical Works...collated with the best editions by Thomas Park. In 'Works of the British Poets', etc. Vol. 39.

---------- Poems in Chalmers, Alexander. Works of the English poets from Chaucer to Comper. London 1810 Vol. 18.

---------- Poems, in the British Poets(ed. by S. W. Singer and others) 100 Vols. Chiswich, 1822. 12° Vol. 68.

---------- Poetical Works. Edited by Rev. George Gilfillan, Edinburgh 1854.

---------- Poetical Works in Routledge's British Poets. 24 Vols. London, 1853-58.

---------- Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire (Being an account of Kiddington) 20 copies privately printed. 4° 1782.

---------- (Same) Second ed. corrected and enlarged. London, 1783.

Warton, Thos: (Same) Third ed. The History and antiquities of Kiddington; first published as a specimen etc. London (1815) 4°.

(Warton, Thos:) Verses on Sir. J. Reynolds's painted window at New College, etc. (1782 4° 64?. m 12. (42)

Warton, Thos: An Enquiry into the authenticity of the Poems attributed to T. Rowley (But written by Thomas Chatterton) In which the arguments of the Dean of Exeter (i.e. J.Milles) and Mr. Bryant, are examined. London 1782. Second ed. corrected 1782.

---------- The Hamlet; an ode written in Whichwood Forest..Illus with 14 etchings by Birket Foster. London 1859. 4°.

---------- (Same) Another ed. Illus with etchings by B. F. London 1876 (1876) 4°.

Poem in Joseph Warton's 'Odes on Various Subjects.' London 1746.

Contributions to Dodsley's 'Museum' March 1746 to Sept. 1747

Contributions to the 'Idler.'
No. 33. Saturday, December 2, 1768. Journal of a Senior Fellow, or Genuine Idler.
No. 93. Saturday, January 26, 1760. Sam Softly, the sugar-baker.
No. 96. Saturday, February 16, 1760. Hacho, King of Lapland.

Life of Sir Thomas Pope, published in Biographia Britanica, Vol. V, 1760.

Contributions to-- Pietas Universitatis Oxoniensis, in Obitum Serenissimi Regis Georgii II. et Gratundatio in Augustissimi Regis Georgii III. Inaugurationem. 1761-fol.

Contributions to--Oxford and Cambridge Verses on the Kings' Marriage, 1762.

Warton, Thos. and Others: Essays on Gothic Architecture, by the Rev. T. Warton, Rev. J. Bentham, Captain Grose, and the Rev. J. Milner. (With a letter to the Publisher)illustrated w. 10 plates of ornaments etc. selected from Ancient Buildings; calculated to exhibit the various Styles of different Periods. London 1800 8°.

---------- (Same) second ed.: to which is added, a list of the Cathedrals of England etc. 8° London 1802.

---------- (Same) 3rd ed. London 1808 8°

Milton, John: Poems upon several occasions, English, Italian and Latin...with notes critical, explanatory and other illustrations by Thomas Warton...First ed...London 1785.

---------- (Same) Second ed. London 1791.

---------- Comus, a mask: presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634...To which are added L'Allegro and Il Penseroso: and Mr. Warton's account of the origin of Comus. London,1799.

---------- The Poetical Works of, with notes of various authors to which are added illustrations etc....by H. J. Todd. 6 Vols. London 1801.

---------- Second edition, with considerable additions, etc. 7 Vols. London 1809. Reprinted in 1826, 1842, 1852

---------- The Poetical Works of John Milton, with notes of various authors, principally from the editions of T. Newton,..T. W. etc. by E. Hawkins. 4 Vols. London 1824 8°

Hall, John: Satires...w. illustrations of...T.Warton etc.. with additional notes by S. W. Singer. (Part of a series entitled 'Early English Poets' edited by S. W. Singer). Chiswick: 1824.

Spenser, Edmund: Remarks on the Plan and Conduct of the Faerie Queene.---Remarks on Spenser's Imitations from old romances.--Remarks on Spenser's allegorical character.--- Remarks on Spenser's stanza, versification and language (by T. W.)--Vol. 2. 1805, 8°.

II Critical Pamphlets.

Anonymous. An examination of the poems attributed to Thos. Rowley and William Canynge. With a defense of the opinion of Mr. Warton. Sherborne, (1782 ?) 8°

(Dampier, H. ? or Woodward, Dr., of Bath ?) Remarks upon the eigth section of the second volume of Mr. Warton's History of Eng. Poetry. London, (1779) 8°

(Darby, S. ?) A letter to...Thos. Warton on his late edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems. 8°. London, 1785.

Greene, Edward Burnaby: Strictures upon a Pamphlet intitled'Cursory observations on the poems attributed to Rowley'.. with a postscript on Mr. Thos. Warton's enquiry into the same subject. 8°. London 1782.

(Huggins, W. ?) The Observer observed--Or remarks on a certain curious Tract, intitled, Observations on the Faeirie Queen of Spenser, by Thos. Warton, A.M. etc. 8°.London,1756.

(Ritson, J:) Observations on the three first volumes of the history of English Poetry (by T. W.) in a letter to the author. London, 1782.

III Periodicals.

Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. XXXVI, p 410.

Critical Review, VIII, 82-3; XI, 161; XIII, 27; XVII, 400 XXXIII, 369; XXXVII, 473; XXXVII, 275, 340, 435; XLIV,109-115; XLV, 261, 321-30, 417-25; LI, 321-330; LII, 15-23, 108-114; LIII, 1IV, 98-109, 401; LV, 78-80; LIX, 321-8, 401, 421-30; LXII, 132-6; LXX, 159.

Ser. 2, X, 20.

Cornhill Magazine, XI.

Edinburgh Review, XXVII, 7; LVII, 413-420.

English Historical Review, XI, 282 ff.

Gentleman's Magazine, XLIV, 370-3; 425-429; 466; XLVIII, 201-3, 225-30, 269; LI, 181-3, 299, 265, 608; LII, 16, 129, 195-7, 244-6, 527, 571, 572, 574-5; LIII, 42, 44, 45-7, 62, 100, 126-7, 281-4, 416; LV, 267, 290-3, 374-7, 457-61, 416, 435, 513; LVI, 64, 211-14, 211-14, 210; LX, 480 648, 649, 1198; LXII, 1072; LXIII, 4, 119, 740; LXVI, 236; LXXIII, 396.

London Magazine, IV, 121.

Monthly Review, XXIV, 163, 406-414; LXIII, 1, 81, 230; XLVI, 549-555; L, 266, 418; LI, 49-63; LVI, 331-8, LIX, 122, 211, 321; LVI, 81, 162; LXVII, 161, 306; LXVIII, 398; LXXIII, 228; LXXIX, 4-12, 97-104, 342-351. 2nd. Ser. X, 24, 171, 122, 271-8, 380.

Quarterly Review. XXXI, 1825.

St. James Evening Post, 31 August, 1782.

Willis's Current Notes: a series of articles on antiquities, biography,...topography, etc. selection from original letters and documents addressed, to the Publisher. 7 Vols. London, 1851-57.

IV General References.

Addison, Joseph and Steele, Richard: The Spectator.... edited..by G. G. Smith..8 Vols. London, 1897-8.

Akenside, Mark: Poetical Works,...ed. Gilfillan, Edinburgh, 1857.

Amhurst, Nicholas: Terrae Filius; or the secret history of University of Oxford in several essays. To which are added remarks upon a late book, etc. London, 1726.

Ancient Scottish Poems, published from the MS of George Bannatyne. MDLXVIII. ed. by Lord Hailes. Edinburgh, 1770.

D'Arblay, Mme.: Diary and Letters, ed. by her niece Charlotte Barrett. 4 vols. London, 1891.

Arnold, Matthew: Essays in Criticism. London, 1865.

Barclay, Alexander: The Ship of Fools, ed by T.H.Jamieson. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1874.

Beers, Henry A.: A History of English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century. New York, 1901.

----- ----------- A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century. New York, 1906.

Blakiston, Herbert E.D.: Trinity College, University of Oxford, College Histories. London, 1898.

Boswell, James: Life of Samuel Johnson. Ed by Geo. B. Hill. 6 vols. Oxford, 1887.

Beattie, James: Essays on Poetry and Music. 1779.

Brown, John; History of the Rise and Progress of Poetry. Newcastle, 1764.

Brydges, Sir Samuel E.: Autobiography, times, opinions, and Contemporaries. 2 vols. London, 1834.

Bryant, Jacob: Observations upon the poems of Thomas Rowley in which the authenticity of these poems is ascertained. London, 1781.

The Cambridge History of English Poetry, ed. by A.W.Ward and A.R.Waller. New York and London, 1907-

Campbell, Thos: Specimens of the British Poets. w. biographical and critical notices and an essay on English Poetry. 7 vols. London, 1819.

Capell, Edward: Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Ancient Poetry. 1760.

Chambers, E.K.: The Mediaeval Stage. 2 vols. 1903.

Chatterton, Thomas: The Poetical Works, with an essay on the Rowley poems by the W.W.Skeat....London, 1901 Aldine Ed.

Chatterton, Thomas: Complete Poetical Works, ed. by [illegible] erts. London, 19[illegible]. Muses' Library.

Chaucer, Geoffrey: The works of our ancient, learned and excellent English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer.... London, 1[illegible].

---- ---------- Works....ed. Urry. London, 1721.

---------- The Poetical Works of, With an Essay on his Language and Versification; an Introductory Discourse and Notes. ed. by T.Tyrwhit. London, 1860.

---------- Works. Ed. by W.W.Skeat. 9 vols. 1894-1900.

Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope: Letters....ed. by John Bradshaw. 3 vols. London, 1893.

Cibber, Theophilus: Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Time of Dean Swift. 2nd. ed. 4 vols. London, 17[illegible].

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor: Biographia Literaria, ed. [illegible] Shawcross. 2 vols. Oxford, 19[illegible].

Collier, John Payne: History of English Dramatic Poetry to the time of Shakespeare, and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration. London, 1831.

Conybeare, John J.: Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. (Preface) London, 18[illegible].

Cory, Herbert E.: The Critics of Edmund Spenser. University of California publications in Modern Philology. Berkeley, 191[illegible]

Courthope, Wm.J.: A History of English Poetry. 6 vols. New York, 1895-1910.

Croxall, Samuel: The Vision, a Poem. London, 1715.

Dennis, John: Complete Works, 2 vols. London, 1718.

Dennis, John: Studies in English Literature. London, 1883.

Dodsley, Robert: Old Plays. London, 1744.

Douce, Francis: Illustrations of Shakespeare, and of Ancient Manners: with Dissertations on the clowns and fools of Shakespeare; on the collection of popular tales entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance. London, 1839.

Dryden, John: Essays...ed. by [illegible].Ker. 2 vols. Oxford, 19[illegible]

---------- Poetical Works. Cambridge Ed. 19[illegible].

---------- Works. ed. Scott--Saintsbury. 13 vols. Edinburgh, 188[illegible]-188[illegible].

Dyer, John: The Ruins of Rome. London. 1740.

Eastlake, C.L.: A History of the Gothic Revival. London, 1872.

Ellis, George: Specimens of the Early English. Poets. 3 vols. 1803.

---------- Specimens of Early English Romances in Metre. 3 vols. 1805.

The Encyclopedia Britannica. Eleventh Ed.

Evans, Evan: Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards. Trans. into English w. explanatory notes...etc. Llanidloes.(1764)

Fawkes, Francis: Description of Lay, form Gawin Douglas, Aungerville Reprints. Edinburgh, 1885.

Foster, Joseph; Alumni Oxonienses. 15 -1714. 4 vols. Oxford

---------- Alumni Oxonienses...1715-1886

Fuller, Thomas: History of the Worthies of England. ed. Nichols. London, 1662.

Gibbon, Edward: Miscellaneous Works, with Memoirs of his Life and Writings. 5 vols. London. 1814.

Goldsmith, Oliver: Miscellaneous Works....London, 1801.
Gosse, Edmund : Life of Gray, Eng. Men Let. London, 1906.

Gower, John: Poetical Works. ed. by G.C.Macaulay. 4 vols. 1901.

Gray, Thomas: Selections from. ed. by E.L.Nichols, w. an Appendix on Gray's Knowledge of Old Norse, by G.L.Kittredge, Boston, 1902.

---------- Works..w. Memoirs of his Life and Writings, by William Mason. To which are subjioned Extracts from the authors original MSS selected and arranged by Thos. James Mathias. 2 vols, London, 1814.

---------- Works in Prose and Verse. ed. by Edmund Gosse. 4 vols. London 1884.

Green, Thomas M.: Diary of a Lover of Literature. Ipswich, 1810.

Hawes, Stephen; Pastime of Pleasure, ed. by Thos Wright

Percy Soc. 1845.

Hazlitt, William: Early Popular Poetry. 4 vols. London, 1866.

Heine, Heinrich: The Romantic School, trans. by C.L.Fleishman New York, 1882.

Herder, Johann Gottfried von: Sammtliche Werke...B. Suphan. Berlin, 1883. See vol. IX. Von Ähnlichkeit der mittlern Englischen and Deutschen Dichtkunst. 1777.

Herford, C.H.: The Age of Wordsworth. London, 1891.

Hurd, Richard: Works, 8 vols. London, 1811.

Johnson, Samuel: A Dictionary of the English Language. 2 vols London, 1755.

---------- Letters, ed. by G.B.Hill. 2 vols. Oxford, 1892.

Johnsonian Miscellanies: ed. by G.B.Hill, 2 vols. Oxford, 1897

Johnson, Samuel: The Works of, w. Murphy's Essay, ed. by Robt Lynam 6 vols. London, 1822.

Ker, William Paton: Warton Lecture on English Poetry. 1- Thos Warton. (Proceedings of the British Academy, 1911-12) London, (1911).

Lanson, Gustave: Histoire de la Litterature Française. Paris 1901.

La Rue, G.L'Abbe de: Essais historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouveres Normands et Anglo-Normands, etc. 3 vols. Caen, 1834.

Lounsbury, Thomas R.: Studies in Chaucer. 3 vols. New York, 1892.

Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, ed. by A.Erdmann, E.E.T.S., E.S. CVIII, 1911.

Lydgate's Troy Book, ed. by Henry Bergen, E.E.T.S., E.S. CCVII, 1906.

MacCracken, H.N.: The Lydgate Canon. London, 1908.

Mallet, Paul Henri: Northern Antiquities, etc. trans. by Thos. Percy. New ed. rev. and enl. by I.A.Blackwell. London 1847.

Malone, Edmund: Historical Account of the English Stage. In Shakespeare, Vol. I. part II. 1790.

Martin, John: Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately Printed Books. 2nd ed. 1854.

(Mason, William): Eirth, a poem in answer to Warton's Pleasures of Melancholy. London, 1774.

Mason, William: Poems, containing Odes Elegies, Dramatic Pieces, etc. Dublin, 1764.

---------- Works. 4 vols. London, 1811

Milton, John: Poetical Works, Riverside Ed.

Mino', Laurence; Poems, with Preface, etc. (by Pinkerton). London. 1795.

More, Hannah: Memoirs, ed. Roberts. 4 vols. London, 1834.

Moulton, C.W.: Library of Literary Criticism, New York, 1910.

Nichols, John: Illustrations of Literary History, consisting of authentic Memoirs and Original Letters of Eminent Persons. 8 vols. London, 1817.

Nichols, John: Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. 9 vols, London, 1812.

Payne, Thomas: A Catalogue of books (being the libraries of Dr. Joseph Warton, Thomas Warton....and others) to be sold by Thomas Payne. London, 1811.

Pattison, Mark: Essays. Ed. Nettleship, 2 vols. Oxford 1889.

Percy, Thomas: Reliques of Ancient Poetry, etc. ed. H.W. Wheatley. 3 vols. London. 1891.

Phelps, W.L.: The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement Boston, 1902.

Philips, John: Poems attempted in the Style of Milton. London, 1762.

Pinkerton, John: Select Ballads. London, 1783.

Pope, Alexander: Works, with notes and illustrations by Joseph Warton, and others. 9 vols. London, 1797.

---------- Works, Ed. Elwin-Courthope. 10 vols. London 1881.

Prescott, Wm.H.: Biographical and Critical Miscellanies. Philadelphia, 1865.

Prior, Matthew: Poems on Several Occasions, London, 1709.

Ramsay Allan: The Evergreen, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the ingenious before 1600. 2 vols. 1724.

Ritson, Joseph: Ancient English Metrical Romances. Ed. Goldsmid. 3 vols, Edinburgh, 1884.

Ritson, Joseph): Bibliographia Poetica: a catalogue of English poets, of the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centurys with a short account of their works. London, 1802.

---------- ------ The English Anthology, 3 vols. London, 179[illegible]

Ritson, Joseph: Letters....ed by Sir H. Nicholas, 2 vols.

London, 1833.

Robinson, Henry Crabb: Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence, selected and edited by Thos Sadler, 3 vols. London, 1869.

Rogers, Samuel,: Table Talk. New York, 18[illegible].

Rymer, Thomas, A Short View of Tragedy. London, 1693.

Saintsbury, George: The Flourishing of Romance. New York, 1907.

------------------- A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe. 3 vols. New York, 19[illegible].

Scott, Sir Walter: Ancient British Drama. 3 vols, 1810.

Shenstone, William, Works in Verse and Prose. 3 vols. London 1777.

Sibbald, James: Chronicle of Scottish Poetry. 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1802.

Skelton, John: Magnificence, ed. by R.L.Ramsay, E.E.T.S., E.S. XCVIII,[illegible].

Smart, Christopher, : Poems on Several Occasions. London.1752

Smith, Adam: The Wealth of Nations. 2 vols. Everyman Ed.

Smith, Goldwin: Lectures on the Study of History. With a Lecture on the University of Oxford. New York. 1866.

Snell, F.J.: The Age of Transition, 1400-1580. 2 vols. London, 1905.

Sonnets, London, (1776)

Spenser, Edmund: The Fairie Queen; the Shepheard's Calendar etc. with copious MS notes (by Thos. Warton) 4° 1617.

---------------- Works, in 6 vols. with a Glossary and Notes To which is prefixed the Life of the Author, etc. by Mr. Hughes. London, 171[illegible]

---------------- Works, Globe Ed. London, 1907.

Stephen, Leslie: English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century. N. Y. 19[illegible].

---------- History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. London, 1881.

---------- Hours in a Library. 4 vols. London, 1907.

Swift, Jonathan: Works, Ed. Scott. 1[illegible] vols. London, 1899-19[illegible].

Temple, Sir William: Works, [illegible] vols. London, 17[illegible].

Thomas, W.: Le Poète Edward Young. Étude sur sa Vie et ses Oeuvres. Paris, 1901.

Thomson, James: Poetical Works... [illegible] (Aldine Ed.) 2 vols. London, 1[illegible].

Thynne, Francis: Animadversions upon Speght's first edition of Chaucer's Works. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall and J. W. Kingsley for Chaucer Society. Vol I. London, 1[illegible].

Todd, Henry J.: Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer. Collected from authentick documents. London, 1810.

Toynbee, Paget: Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary. [illegible] vols. New York, 19[illegible].

Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet: Essais sur les Moeurs et l'Esprit des Nations. Oeuvres Complètes. Paris, 1[illegible]. I-XII

Walpole, Horace: Letters, ed. by Mrs Paget Toynbee 16 vols. Oxford, 1903.

Warburton, William: Letters of a Late Eminent Prelate. 3rd ed. 13 vols. London, 180[illegible].

Ward, A. [illegible]: History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Anne. 3 vols. Eds. 1875&1899.

Warton, Joseph: An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope. 5th ed. 2 vols, London, 1806.

---------- Odes on Various Subjects, London, 1746.

Weber, Henry: Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries. 3 vols, Edinburgh, 1[illegible].

(Wolcott, John): The Works of Peter Pindar, Esq. 3 vols. London, 1794.

Wood, Anthony à : Athenae Oxonienses..with additions...by Philip Bliss. 4 vols, London, 1813-20.

[illegible], John: Biographical [illegible] of the late [illegible] Captain..London. [illegible].

Young, Edward: Poetical Works. Aldine Ed. 2 vols. London. [illegible].

VITA.

The author of this dissertation was born at Carlinville, Illinois, December 23, 1883. She attended the Carlinville public school, Blackburn Academy and Blackburn College, and was graduated from the latter in 1903 with the degree of A. B. As a student at Blackburn her work included courses in the classics under Professor A. F. Hertel, in biology under Professor Charles Robertson, and in philosophy under Professor W. H. Bradley. During the years 1906 to 1908 she served as a substitute teacher in the Carlinville High School and in Blackburn College, and from 1908 until 1910 was the teacher of English at Blackburn. In 1910 she was awarded a scholarship in English in the graduate school of the University of Illinois, and received the M. A. degree in June, 1911. At that time she was elected to a fellowship, which she still holds. Her graduate study has included courses in literature under Professors S. P. Sherman, R. M. Alden, D. K. Dodge, Edward Fulton, H. S. V. Jones, H. G. Paul and Julius Goebel, and in philosophy under Professor B. H. Bode. She spent the summer of 1912 in England, partly in research at Oxford and in the British Museum. This dissertation was written at the suggestion and under the direction of Professor Sherman; whatever there may be of merit in it is due to the inspiration of his scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 086829519